REPORT RESUMES

ED 020 195 24 TE 499 988

ADOLESCENTS IN TWO SOCIETIES--PEERS, SCHOOL, AND FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES AND DENMARK. FINAL REPORT. VOLUMES I AND II.

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HARVARD UNIV., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
REPORT NUMBER PROJ-NO-2139 PUB DATE JAN 68
REPORT NUMBER BR-5-0370
CONTRACT OEC-4-10-069
EDRS PRICE MF-$2.00 HC-$21.32 531P.

DESCRIPTORS- *ADOLESCENTS, *AMERICAN CULTURE, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, *PARENT STUDENT RELATIONSHIP, *STUDENT SUBCULTURES, ADOLESCENCE, BELIEFS, CULTURAL TRAITS, FOREIGN CULTURE, HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, GOAL ORIENTATION, PARENT INFLUENCE, PARENT RESPONSIBILITY, PEER ACCEPTANCE, PEER RELATIONSHIP, SOCIAL INFLUENCES, SOCIAL STATUS, STUDENT BEHAVIOR, FAMILY INFLUENCE, UNITED STATES, DENMARK,

THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY WERE (1) TO EXAMINE THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE UPON ADOLESCENTS OF PEERS AND FAMILIES, (2) TO COMPARE THESE INFLUENCES IN TWO SOCIETIES, THE UNITED STATES AND DENMARK, AND (3) TO DESCRIBE THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF ADOLESCENT SUBCULTURES IN THE TWO SOCIETIES. DATA WERE COLLECTED ON ALL STUDENTS IN THREE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS (N-2327) AND 12 DANISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS (N-1552) USING A STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE. DATA ALSO WERE OBTAINED FROM 68 PERCENT OF THE STUDENTS' MOTHERS IN AMERICA AND 75 PERCENT IN DENMARK. RESULTS INDICATE THAT THE ADOLESCENT SUBCULTURES IN BOTH CULTURES ARE NOT SEPARATE OR ISOLATED SUBSOCIETIES BUT RATHER REFLECT THE ORIENTATION OF THE LARGER SOCIETIES SURROUNDING THEM. THE DATA, IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER THEORIES, SUGGEST THAT IN IMPORTANT AREAS OF BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDE, ADOLESCENTS DISPLAY HIGH CONCORDANCE WITH BOTH PARENTS AND PEERS, OR LOW CONCORDANCE WITH BOTH. ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS IN AMERICA ARE MORE CONCERNED THAN THE DANES WITH WINNING THE REGARD OF OTHERS. (AUTHOR)

BR-5-0370
P.A.24

ED020195

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 2139
Contract No. OE-4-10-069

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January, 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Final Report

Project No. 2139
Contract No. OE-4-10-069

Adolescents in Two Societies: Peers, School, and Family in the United States and Denmark

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January, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful for the advice and assistance of members of the Danish National Institute of Educational Research, the Danish Ministry of Education, and the University of Copenhagen. James S. Coleman and Edward L. McDill of Johns Hopkins University were especially helpful in providing advice. Of course, we are most indebted to the principals ("school inspectors" in Denmark), teachers, parents, and students of the schools in the United States and Denmark. These schools and people will remain anonymous, but their cooperation is appreciated greatly. We also thank the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, for providing technical assistance in data-processing and Professor Allen H. Barton, Director, for most generous cooperation.

Table of Contents

Page

List of Tables and Figures viii

Chapter 1: The Research Problem 1-1

I. Purposes of the Study 1-1

II. Review of Coleman's (1961) "The Adolescent Society" 1-3

III. The Concept of Adolescent Subculture 1-5

A. Single-Culture Studies 1-6
B. Cross-Cultural Studies of Peer-Group Influences 1-13

IV. Family Influences upon Adolescents 1-14

V. Relative Influence of Peers and Family 1-15

A. Relative Influence, "Contraculture," and the Hydraulic Theory of Adolescent Behavior 1-15
B. An Alternative Theory: Generalized Social Interaction. 1-16
C. The "Hydraulic" and "Generalized Social Interaction" Theories Combined 1-16

Chapter 2: Advantages and Problems of Cross-Cultural Research . . 2-1

I. Advantages of Cross-Cultural Research 2-1

A. Provide Contrasting Experimental Conditions 2-1
B. Extend the Range of Behaviors 2-3
C. Establish the Scope of Generalizations 2-3
D. Generate New Hypotheses, Taxonomies, and Data 2-3
E. Provide an Antidote to Scientific Provincialism 2-4

II. Problems of Cross-Cultural Research 2-5

A. Conceptualization: Comparability of Research Issues . 2-7
B. Measurement: Comparability of Research Instruments . . 2-9
C. Sampling: Comparability and Representativeness 2-15
D. Extraneous Variables: Comparability of Control over Extraneous Influences 2-17
E. Procedures: Comparability of Research Operations . . . 2-19
F. Data Analysis 2-22
G. Data Interpretation 2-23

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

Chapter 3: Method 3-1

I. The Contrasting Societies 3-1

A. The Choice of the United States and Denmark 3-1
B. A Descriptive Note on Denmark 3-4
C. American and Danish School Systems 3-6

II. The Schools 3-8

A. The Selection of Schools 3-8
B. The Danish Schools 3-9
C. The American Schools 3-13
D. Matching Difficulties 3-19

III. Response Rates 3-22

A. Field Procedures and Response Rates 3-22
B. Comparison of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers . . 3-25

IV. The Samples of Dyads and Triads 3-33

A. Adolescent-Mother Dyads 3-33
B. Adolescent-Best-School-Friend Dyads 3-33
C. Adolescent-Mother-Best-School-Friend Triads 3-35

V. The Questionnaires 3-35

A. Nature of the Instrument 3-35
B. Reliability of the Danish Questionnaire 3-36

VI. Statistical Procedures 3-37

A. Multivariate Analysis of Attribute Data 3-37
B. The Measurement of Concordance 3-39
C. Tests of Significance 3-39

Chapter 4: The Meaning of Status in Secondary Schools 4-1

I. Methodology 4-4

II. Response Rate on Sociometric Questions 4-6

III. Consensus on Different Ways of Being Outstanding 4-8

IV. Relationships among Criteria 4-16

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

V. The Meaning of Leading Crowd Membership 4-18

VI. Some Characteristics of Leaders 4-19

VII. Summary by Type of School 4-32

VIII. Conclusion 4-34

Chapter 5: Academic and Intellectual Orientations 5-1

I. How Are Grades and Studies Valued 5-1

A. Cross-Cultural Differences 5-1
B. Sex Differences 5-7

II. Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies 5-8

III. Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies for Self and Who Perceive the Same Values for Others 5-11

IV. Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies 5-13

V. Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies for Self and Who Perceive the Same Value for Others 5-13

VI. Conclusion 5-17

Chapter 6: Informal Interactions with Peers 6-1

I. Interactions Out-of-School 6-2

A. Whether Best Friend Is in Same School 6-2
B. Frequency of Contacts 6-5
C. Factors Associated with Best Friend Being in Same School 6-9
D. Position of Friends, Number of Choices as Friend and Self-Esteem 6-9
E. Summary 6-11

II. The Structure of Friendship Groups 6-11

A. Selection of Schools 6-11
B. Distribution of Choices 6-12
C. Leading Crowd Choices 6-15
D. Summary 6-17

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

III. Concordance between Adolescent and Best Friend 6-18

A. Concordance in Four Areas 6-18
B. Reciprocated vs. Non-Reciprocated Choices 6-21
C. Conclusion 6-24

Chapter 7: Parent-Adolescent Relations in the United States and Denmark: The Training for Independence 7-1

I. Methodological Considerations 7-2

A. The Sample 7-2
B. Control for Structural and Social Class Differences. . 7-3

II. Patterns of Parent-Adolescent Interaction in the United States and Denmark 7-6

A. General Cross-Cultural Comparisons 7-6
B. Boys versus Girls 7-24

III. The Training for Independence 7-31

A. The Independence of Danish Adolescents 7-31
B. The Consequences of Feeling Independent from Parents . 7-42

IV. Discussion and Conclusion 7-43

Chapter 8: The Internal Structure of Families 8-1

I. Parental Authority Patterns and Other Parent-Adolescent Relationships 8-1

II. Authority Pattern and Parental Control 8-12

III. Crucial Component of Authority Pattern 8-17

IV. The Structure of Parent-Adolescent Interactions: A Non-metric Approach. 8-26

V. Parental Interactions Concerning the Adolescent 8-32

A. Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Parental Interactions . 8-35
B. Authority Patterns between Mother and Father and between Parents and Adolescents 8-42

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

VI. Adolescents' and Parents' Perceptions of Family Patterns . 8-44

A. Comparison of Marginal Distributions 8-44
B. Concordance between Mothers' and Adolescents' Perceptions 8-47

VII. Discussion and Conclusion 8-49

Chapter 9: Family Interaction Patterns and Adolescent Involvement with Peers 9-1

I. Subjective Orientation to Peers and Reliance on Friends for Advice 9-4

A. Subjective Orientation to Peers 9-4
B. Reliance on Friends for Advice 9-8
C. Subjective Orientation to Peers and Peer Influence . . 9-10

II. The Effects of Family Patterns 9-19

A. Family Patterns and Subjective Orientation to Peers . 9-19
B. Family Patterns and Reliance on Friends for Advice . . 9-21
C. Family Patterns and Sociometric Behavior 9-21

III. Objective Sociometric Behavior and Subjective Orientation. 9-23

IV. Conclusion 9-27

Chapter 10: Concordance on Values between the Adolescent, His Mother and His Best-School-Friend 10-1

I. Method 10-17

A. The Samples of Triads (Mother, Adolescent, Best-School-Friend) and Dyads 10-17
B. The Assessment of Values 10-18

II. Patterns of Values of the Two Generations in the United States and Denmark 10-19

A. Value Profiles and the United States and Denmark . . . 10-20
B. Value Profiles of Adolescents and Mothers 10-23
C. Differences in Values between Boys and Girls 10-26

III. Concordance on Values between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend 10-29

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

IV. The Transmission of Values from Mother to Child 10-37

A. The Effect of Patterns of Family Interaction 10-37
B. The Effects of Interaction with Peers 10-38

V. The Influence of Peers 10-41

VI. Conclusion 10-44

Chapter 11: Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent Mother and Best-School-Friend 11-1

I. The Distribution of Educational Plans 11-6

II. Concordance on Educational Plans 11-7

III. Concordance: Influence or Convergence 11-19

IV. Concordance and Mother's Influence 11-26

A. Patterns of Family Interaction 11-26
B. Communication about Educational Issues and Attitudes . 11-32

V. Concordance and the Influence of Best Friend 11-41

VI. Summary and Conclusion 11-48

Chapter 12: Family, School and Peer Influences on Educational Plans 12-1

I. School Status and Educational Aspirations 12-3

II. School Status and Types of Interpersonal Relations 12-4

III. School, Peer and Family Influences 12-7

IV. Conclusion and Discussion 12-14

Chapter 13: Summary and Conclusions 13-1

I. Values in the United States and Denmark 13-2

II. Family Structure 13-4

Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Page

III. The Social System of the School 13-8

A. Interactions with Peers within the School 13-9
B. Status and Recognition in the Schools 13-9
C. Attitudes toward Intellectual Achievement: Studies and Grades 13-11

IV. The Role of Peers 13-13

V. The Relative Influence of Peers and Parents 13-14

References 1

Supplementary References 25

Appendix A: The Measurement of Consensus A-1

Appendix B: The Measurement of Concordance B-1

Appendix C: Significance of Difference Between Two Percentages . C-1

Appendix D: Supplementary Tables D-1

Appendix E: Copies of Questionnaires E-1

List of Tables and Figures

Number	Title	Page
3-1	Percentage of Adolescents in School at Different Ages, in the United States and Denmark	3-5
3-1 (Fig.)	Diagram of Danish and American Age-Grade Systems for Most Schools	3-7
3-2	Characteristics of Danish Schools in the Study . . .	3-11
3-3	Characteristics of American Schools in the Study . .	3-15
3-4	Age Distribution of Adolescents in American and Danish Samples	3-20
3-5	Father's Occupation in American and Danish Samples .	3-21
3-6	Absentee Rates among Adolescents in American and Danish Schools	3-23
3-7	Teacher Questionnaires Returned in the United States and Denmark	3-24
3-8	Mother Questionnaires Mailed and Returned in the United States and Denmark, by School	3-26
3-9	Social Background Characteristics as Reported by the Adolescent of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers in the United States and Denmark	3-28
3-10	Family Relationships of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers, as Reported by the Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark	3-30
3-11	Family Educational Concern among Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers, as Reported by the Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark . . .	3-32
3-12	Samples of Dyads and Triads in the United States and Denmark	3-34
3-13	Summary of Reliability Coefficients	3-38
4-1	Father's Occupation by Type of School and Country .	4-5
4-2	Response Rates on Status Criteria by Sex, Type of School (in the United States), and Country	4-7

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number Title Page

4-3 Consensus Measures on Status Criteria, by Sex, Type of School and Country 4-10

4-4 Comparison of Consensus Measures for the United States and Denmark by Use of the F Ratio 4-11

4-5 Comparison of Consensus Measures in Earlier and Later Grades for the United States and Denmark by Use of the F Ratio 4-13

4-6 Perceived Membership and Actual Membership in Leading Crowd by Sex, Type of School and Country . 4-15

4-7 Product-Moment Correlations between Status Criteria by Sex, Type of School and Country 4-17

4-8 Characteristics of Adolescents Chosen as Leaders by Sex, Type of School and Country 4-20

4-9 Educational Plans, Father's Occupation and Leadership by Sex, Type of School and Country 4-21

4-10 Self-Esteem and Actual Leadership by Sex, Type of School and Country 4-23

4-11 Self-Esteem and Perceived Leadership by Sex and Country 4-24

4-12 Association Measures for Self-Esteem, Actual Leadership and Perceived Leadership by Sex and Country 4-26

4-13 Image Preferred by Sex, Type of School and Country . 4-27

4-14 Choice of Brilliant Student Image by Status Positions, Sex, Type of School and Country 4-29

4-1 (Fig.) Relative choice of image of athletic star, brilliant student, and most popular by all boys (origin) and by boys chosen as leaders 4-30

4-2 (Fig.) Relative choice of image of leader in activities, brilliant student, and most popular by all girls (origin) and by girls chosen as leaders 4-31

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
5-1	Importance of Good Grades to Self and Others among Different Types of Students, by Sex and Country . .	5-3
5-2	Satisfaction in Working Hard on Studies to Self and Others among Different Types of Students, by Sex and Country	5-4
5-3	Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades Are Extremely Important or Studies Are Extremely Satisfying to Self, by Sex and Country .	5-9
5-4	Valuing Grades or ~~Studies for Self,~~ Father's Occupation, by Educational Plans, Sex and Country .	5-10
5-5	Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades Are Extremely Important Both to Self and Others or Studies Are Extremely Satisfying Both to Self and Others, by Sex and Country	5-12
5-6	Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades Are Extremely Important or Studies Are Extremely Satisfying to Self, by Sex and Country. .	5-14
5-7	Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades Extremely Important Both to Self and Others or Studies Extremely Satisfying Both to Self and Others, by Sex and Country	5-16
6-1	Whether Best Friend Is in Same School, by Sex and Country	6-3
6-2	Whether Best Friend Is in Same School, by Sex, Type of School, and Country	6-4
6-3	Whether Best Friend Is in the Same School and Frequency of Contact by Sex and Country	6-6
6-4	Frequency of Contact with Best Friend and Closest School Friend When Best Friend Is Not in Same School, by Sex and Country	6-7
6-5	Frequency of Contact with Three Closest School Friends by Sex and Country	6-8
6-6	Self-Esteem, Whether Most Friends in Same School and Number of Friendship Choices, by Sex and Country .	6-10

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
6-7	Characteristics of Schools Selected for Analysis of Friendship Structure	6-13
6-8	Summary Statistics for Friendship Choices	6-14
6-9	Leading Crowd Choices of Friendship Groups	6-16
6-10	Similarity of Adolescents and Their Best-School-Friends in Terms of Social Factors, School Characteristics,, Leisure-Time Activities, and Sociometric Status by Country	6-19
6-11	Similarity of Adolescents and Their Best-School-Friend in Terms of Social Factors, School Characteristics, Leisure-Time Activities, and Sociometric Status, by Reciprocity of Choice and Country	6-22
7-1	Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with Mother and Father, by Country	7-8
7-2	Joint Maternal and Paternal Authority Patterns within Families, by Country	7-11
7-3	Adolescent's Perception of Number and Kinds of Parental Rules, by Sex and Country	7-13
7-4	Mean Number of Rules in Family and Parental Authority Pattern, by Country	7-14
7-5	Adolescent's Behavior and Existence of Rule in Family, by Country.	7-17
7-6	Parental Explanation for Rules and Decisions and Parental Authority, by Sex and Country	7-19
7-7	Scores on Indices of Reliance on Mother and Father and Answers to Direct Question about Dependence upon Parents for Advice and Guidance, by Country .	7-22
7-8	Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with MOTHER by Sex in the United States and Denmark	7-25
7-9	Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with FATHER by Sex, in the United States and Denmark	7-27

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
7-10	What Would Do If Parents Objected to Friends, by Age and Country	7-33
7-11	Independence from Parents, by Sex and Country . . .	7-34
7-12	Feeling of Independence and Number of Rules as Perceived by Adolescents and Mothers, by Country .	7-35
7-13	Parents Should Treat as Adults and Freedom from Parents, by Country	7-37
7-14	Number of Rules, as Perceived by Adolescents and Mothers and Age, by Country	7-38
7-15	Feelings of Independence and Age, by Country	7-39
7-16	Feelings of Independence and Maternal Authority Pattern, by Country	7-41
7-17	Attitudes toward Parents and Feelings of Independence, by Country	7-44
7-18	Patterns of Interaction with Mother and Feeling of Independence, by Country	7-45
7-19	Parental Influence and Feeling of Independence, by Country	7-46
8-1	Maternal Authority and Other Dimensions of Interaction with Mother, by Sex and Country	8-4
8-2	Paternal Authority and Other Dimensions of Interaction with Father, by Sex and Country	8-6
8-3	Attitudes toward Parents and Joint Parental Authority Pattern, by Sex	8-11
8-4	What Would Adolescent Do If Parents Objected to Friends by Joint Authority Pattern, by Sex and Country	8-13
8-5	What Would Adolescent Do If Parents Objected to Friends by Maternal Authority Patterns and Explanation for Rules, by Sex and Country	8-16
8-6	Compliance with Parents' Rules on Three Issues and Type of Maternal Authority, by Sex and Country . .	8-18

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
8-7A	Intercorrelations of Selected Parent-Adolescent Interaction Variables for Mother and Father, by Sex of Adolescent in the UNITED STATES	8-19
8-7B	Intercorrelations of Selected Parent-Adolescent Interaction Variables for Mother and Father, by Sex of Adolescent in DENMARK	8-20
8-8	Talking Problems Over with Mother, Maternal Authority and Frequency of Maternal Explanations, by Sex and Country	8-22
8-9	Talking Problems Over with Mother and Maternal Authority and Closeness, by Sex and Country . . .	8-23
8-10	Summary Tabulations of Weighted Effect Parameters of Maternal Authority Pattern on Other Maternal Patterns with Maternal Explanation for Decisions and Adolescent Closeness to Mother Controlled, by Country	8-25
1-A (Fig.)	Configuration of Mother Items in the United States by MDSCL Technique	8-29
1-B (Fig.)	Configuration of Mother Items in Denmark by MDSCL Technique	8-30
2-A (Fig.)	Configuration of Father Items in the United States by MDSCL Technique	8-33
2-B (Fig.)	Configuration of Father Items in Denmark by MDSCL Technique	8-34
8-11	The Allocation of Discipline Roles among Parents, by Sex and Country	8-37
8-12	Which Parent Wins Arguments and Who Disciplines Child in Family or Frequency of Parental Disagreement, by Country	8-38
8-13	Frequency of Parental Disagreement and Time Parents Spend Talking to Each Other in a Day, by Country .	8-40
8-14	Frequency of Parental Disagreement and Which Parent Disciplines Adolescent, by Sex and Country	8-41

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
8-15	Parental Authority Pattern and Which Parent Wins Arguments, by Country	8-43
8-16	Patterns of Family Interaction as Perceived by Adolescents and Their Mothers, in the United States	8-45
8-17	Concordance between Mother and Adolescent in Perception of Family Interaction Patterns, by Country	8-48
8-18	Concordance between Mother and Adolescent in Perception of Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Family, by Country	8-50
9-1	Adolescent Subjective Orientation to Peers in the United States and Denmark, by Sex	9-6
9-2	How Much Adolescents Enjoy Dating and Going Out with Friends, by Sex and Country	9-9
9-3	Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends, on Mother and on Father, by Sex and Country	9-11
9-4	Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends, on Mother and on Father and Number of Rules in Family, by Country	9-12
9-5	Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends, on Mother and on Father and Whether Adolescent Feels His Opinions Are Different or Similar to His Parents, by Country	9-13
9-6	Subjective Orientation to Peers and Influence of Peers, by Country	9-15
9-7	Correlation between Subjective Peer Orientation and Scores on Indices of Reliance, by Sex and Country	9-16
9-8	Person Adolescent Would Rely upon Most for Advice and Guidance When Faced with Problem, in the United States and Denmark	9-17
9-9	Correlation between Index of Peer Orientation and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country	9-20
9-10	Correlations between Index of Reliance on Friend and Family Patterns	9-22

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
9-11	Correlations between Index of Reliance on Friends and Sociometric Behavior, by Sex and Country . . .	9-25
9-12	Peer Orientation, Sociometric Behavior, and Closeness to Mother, by Country	9-26
10-1 (Chart)	Summary of Research on Intrafamily Correlation . . .	10-3
10-1	Percent of Adolescents and Mothers Giving "High Importance" or "First Rank" to Value Questions, in the United States and Denmark	10-21
10-2	Percent of Adolescents and Mothers Giving "High Importance" or "First Rank" to Value Questions, by Sex of Adolescent and Country	10-27
10-3	Concordance on Values between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends in the United States and Denmark (Triads)	10-31
10-4	Average Concordance by Value Area between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)	10-33
10-5	Concordance on Values between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends, by Sex in the United States and Denmark (Triads)	10-35
10-6	Percent of Adolescents Giving "High Importance" or "First Rank" to Value Questions by Membership in the Leading Crowd, in the United States and Denmark	10-39
10-7	Concordance on Values between Adolescents and Best-School-Friends by Reciprocity of Choice, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	10-42
11-1	Educational Aspirations of Adolescents and Mothers by Sex of the Child, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-7
11-2	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend by Sex, in the United States and Denmark (Triads).	11-10

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
11-3	Percent of Adolescents Planning to Continue Their Academic Education by Best-School-Friend's Educational Plans and Mother's Educational Aspirations for Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)	11-12
11-4	Correlations between Adolescent's Educational Goals and Parents' Education in the United States and Denmark	11-14
11-5	Percent of Adolescents Planning to Continue Their Academic Education by Mother's Educational Plans and Perception of Friends' Encouragement (Triads).	11-16
11-6	Concordance on Occupational Goals between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, in the United States and Denmark (Triads).	11-17
11-7	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friend by Age, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads) .	11-20
11-8	Educational Plans of Adolescents and Program in School in the United States and Denmark (Dyads) .	11-22
11-9	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, Controlled by Social Class in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-23
11-10	Weighted Effect Parameters of Best-School-Friend's Educational Plans on Adolescent's Educational Plans, When Controlled by Best Friend's Social Class and Adolescent's Own Social Class, in the United States and Denmark.	11-25
11-11	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, Controlled by Adolescent's School Program (Dyads)	11-27
11-12	Concordance on Educational Plans by Patterns of Family Interaction in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-29
11-13	Adolescent's Educational Plans by Mother's Encouragement of Higher Education, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-33

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
11-14	Adolescent's Educational Plans by Mother's Plans and Strength of Encouragement, for Child to Continue His Education, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-34
11-15	Social Class and Mother Encouragement for Child to Continue His Education, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-36
11-16	Percent of Adolescents with Plans to Continue Academic Education, When Mother Has College Aspirations, by Maternal Encouragement, and Social Class, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-37
11-17	Persons to Whom the Adolescent Has Talked about How Much Education to Complete, in the United States and Denmark	11-38
11-18	Percent of Adolescents with Plans to Continue Academic Education by Mother's Aspirations and Talking to Mother about College, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-40
11-19	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Mother by Adolescent's Emphasis on Education as Best Way to Get Ahead, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-42
11-20	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and His Best-School-Friend by Reciprocity of Friendship Choice, by Sex, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-43
11-21	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and His Best-School-Friend by Frequency of Contact Out of School, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-44
11-22	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and His Best-School-Friend by Whether Friend Is Best Friend Overall, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)	11-46
11-23	Concordance on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, by Intensity of Friendship, in the United States and Denmark	11-47

List of Tables and Figures (Cont'd)

Number	Title	Page
12-1	Proportion of Middle-Class Students by School Status, in the United States and Denmark	12-5
12-2	Adolescent's Educational Aspirations by Social-Class Background and School Status, in the United States and Denmark	12-6
12-3	Percent of Adolescents with Middle-Class Friends by Social-Class Background and School Status, in the United States and Denmark	12-8
12-4	Percent of Adolescents with Plans for Higher Education by Social-Class Background and Best-School-Friend's Social Class, in the United States and Denmark . .	12-9
12-5	Social Status of Friends according to Adolescent's Educational Plans and Social Class, in the United States and Denmark	12-10
12-6	Association between Adolescent Educational Plans and Socioeconomic Status of School, When Controlled by Mother's or Best-School-Friend's Plans, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)	12-12
12-7	Weighted Effect Parameters of School Status, Friends' Plans and Parents' Plans on Adolescent's Educational Plans	12-13
12-8	Weighted Effect Parameters of School Status, Friends' Plans and Parents' Plans, When All Three Are Controlled, on Adolescents' Educational Plans . . .	12-15
12-9	Percent of Adolescents with Friends Planning a Higher Education by Parental Aspirations and School Status, in the United States and Denmark . .	12-16

Chapter 1

The Research Problem

I. Purposes of the Study:

The purposes of this study are (1) to examine the relative influence upon adolescents of their peers and families, (2) to compare these influences in two societies, the United States and Denmark, and (3) in a partial replication and extension of Coleman's (1961) study of The Adolescent Society, to describe certain aspects of the internal structure and operation of the adolescent subcultures in the United States and Denmark.

Recent research conducted among high-school students in the United States suggests the crucial influence of peers in shaping an adolescent's goals, values, and behavior. In The Adolescent Society, Coleman (1961) contends that adolescents are part of a distinctive adolescent society with its own culture and status system -- a society which stands in isolation from the adult culture. He argues that the goals and values of adolescents, particularly their educational goals, are often at odds with educational goals and values of adults. The extent to which this is a universal phenomenon among youths in this and other countries has not been explored. Certainly, the emergence of age-similar groups of adolescents seems to be a common social fact (Eisenstadt, 1956, 1963, 1965) although the characteristics and values of these groups have not been investigated extensively in modern societies other than the United States.

Also unspecified are the extent to which the values and goals of adolescents and adults differ and the relative influence of peers and adults upon the development of adolescents. Coleman's analysis, for instance, documents in great detail the characteristics of adolescent peer groups in the high school and the influence of these groups upon their members. No data are presented, however, that permit a direct comparison of the adolescent culture with that of other socializing forces in the society at large. The adolescent has been studied in isolation within the school, ignoring his complex social interactions with others outside of school.

In the same way that peer-group studies ignore the influence of adults, studies of the family have focused primarily on the intra-family dynamics and rarely have examined the simultaneous influence of the children's peers.

The overall goal of the study is to compare the operation of adolescent societies under different cultural conditions and the impact of these adolescent groups relative to the influence of the family. We are interested in the competing influences of peer groups and adults in different areas of adolescent behavior and under differing cultural conditions. The cross-cultural approach permits the definition of the boundaries of generalizations about the relationships of adolescents with peers and with parents. In addition, cross-cultural research provides a parallel to the manipulation of variables that is otherwise only possible in experimental research. The two countries selected for comparison are the United States and Denmark.

Thus, our general questions concern the social environments provided for adolescents in two societies and their implications for adolescent development. We are interested in the characteristics of the social systems of which the adolescent is a member, both in terms of their social structure and values and in the relative influences of these systems upon the adolescent. We have selected two such groups for study: peers in school and the family.

More specifically, the following problems will be investigated:

1. The characteristics of adolescent groups in secondary schools in the United States and Denmark, with respect to formal statuses and informal friendships.

2. The academic and intellectual orientations of adolescents in the two countries and the characteristics of adolescents who value grades and studies.

3. The patterns of interaction between adolescents and their parents and the internal structure of families in the United States and Denmark.

4. The consequences of different family patterns for the adolescent's involvement with his peers.

5. The comparison of concordance on values and educational goals between (a) the adolescent and his mother and (b) the adolescent and his best-school-friend.

6. The identification of interactional factors which affect the relative levels of concordance with parents and peers in the two countries.

Since these issues stem directly from Coleman's (1961) analysis of the American "adolescent society" and indirectly from the historical development of the adolescent-subculture concept, these topics are discussed next.

II. Review of Coleman's (1961) "The Adolescent Society:"

Coleman's (1961) The Adolescent Society reports a survey of ten high schools in Illinois, selected to represent a range of communities. Coleman investigated the value and status systems among adolescents in these schools, describing the characteristics of students mentioned as being in positions of status and leadership (for instance, members of the leading crowd), best scholar, best athlete, the one they would most "want to be like." The majority of students devalued intellectual activities and placed great emphasis on athletic achievement and popularity among their peers. For instance, the boy who was named best student by his classmates did not want to think of himself as a brilliant student nearly as much as the best athlete wanted to think of himself as an athletic star (pp. 248-252). Furthermore, Coleman showed that the students "who are seen as the 'intellectuals' and who come to think of themselves in this way, are not really those of highest intelligence, but are only the ones who are willing to work hard at a relatively unrewarded activity." (p. 265) Coleman thus was able to document strikingly the strong influence which the milieu of the school and contacts with peers exert on adolescents. Since these trends are expressed in an educational institution whose main goal is academic achievement, Coleman concluded that the values of the adolescents are very different from those of adults, in particular those of teachers and parents.

Two basic and closely-related assumptions are crucial to Coleman's analysis: (1) adolescents form societies that stand apart from adults, and (2) peers constitute the most important influence on the adolescent. Coleman (1961) states:

> With his fellows, he [the child of high school age] comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society ... The adolescent lives more and more in a society of his own, he finds the family a less and less satisfying psychological home. As a consequence, the home has less and less ability to mold him. (p. 3, 312)

This thesis is fundamental to Coleman's investigation; however, he provides very little data subsequently to substantiate it. There is no information, for instance, on the nature of the adolescents' contacts with their parents or other adults. Furthermore, by presenting data solely on the values of the adolescents and making inferences about the values of parents and teachers, Coleman's methodology exaggerates the separateness of the adolescent culture. Yet, despite the lack of sufficient evidence, Coleman's thesis seems to have been accepted by researchers in the field (e.g., Gottlieb and Ramsey, 1964).

However, in a review of The Adolescent Society, Berger (1963) stresses an alternative interpretation of Coleman's data. In Berger's view, the adolescent's values reported by Coleman (in particular, anti-intellectualism) reflect values characteristic of adult society where, for instance, qualities such as popularity, charm, sociability and attractiveness are highly valued: "... what weakens Coleman's book is its uncritical view of the adult society and its neglect of the relation of individuals to it ..." (Berger, 1963, p. 400) We share this position. The Adolescent Society does not provide enough evidence to support the conclusions that adolescents stand completely apart from adults and that the most important influence on them is that of their peers.

These questions can be resolved empirically by examining the adolescents' contacts with adults, the similarities and differences between the values of adolescents and different groups of adults, the particular content areas in which these agreements and disagreements occur, and the conditions under which agreement is maximized or minimized. While Coleman may choose to concentrate solely on adolescents' influences upon each other, he is not justified in deducing that peer groups in high school are the sole or primary influence at work without presenting additional data.[1] This is essentially an empirical question in which it is crucial to investigate the relative influence of other groups such as parents, teachers, or friends outside the school system. Coleman provides a methodology for identifying adolescents' involvement and participation in the high school peer system. Our task is to go beyond this to assess the adolescent participation and involvement both in the peer and family systems, and the relative influence of these systems upon him.

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[1] The Appendix to Coleman's The Adolescent Society does contain a Parents' Questionnaire used in his study; however, the data provided by this questionnaire are not used in the reported analyses (except for one question on "image preferred" by the child). In a later analysis (McDill and Coleman, 1965) focused upon college plans of adolescents, parent and peer influences are pitted against each other; however, the measure of parent influence upon college plans is limited to an estimate of parental education and does not explore parental influences operating through shared values, goals, or aspirations. Another later study (McDill, Meyers, and Rigsby, 1966) examined the effect of a limited but somewhat more direct index of parental influence than the measure of parental education: the extent of parents' interest and involvement in their children's performance and school policies. A significant effect of this variable upon the adolescents' college plans indeed does appear.

III. The Concept of Adolescent Subculture:

For more than a generation, the concept of adolescent subculture[1] has been surrounded by controversy which continues to grow, with little hope for an adequate resolution in the near future.[2]

Historically, the concept of adolescent subculture has been traced to Waller's (1932) The Sociology of Learning, (cf., Gordon, 1963; McDill, Meyers, and Rigsby, 1966; Turner, 1964) and to Margaret Mead's (1928) stress upon cultural influence rather than physiological maturation. Waller described the school as a social system comprised of a cohesive teacher subculture and a separate student youth culture, and depicted a strained student-teacher relationship resulting from the conflicting values and interests of these two groups. In Waller's view, the adolescent subculture, possessing its own status-assigning system, norms, values, and leading groups, has a distinctive and self-contained quality.

A decade after Waller's introduction of the concept of youth culture, Parsons (1942) posited the existence of a somewhat similar age-graded youth culture. Parsons characterized this youth culture as consisting of adolescent boys who derive a sense of achievement predominantly through athletics and adolescent girls who concentrate on social popularity through sexual attractiveness. This youth culture was described as irresponsible, manifesting a "... strong tendency to repudiate interest in adult things and feel at least a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and discipline." Moreover, Parsons (1942) viewed this phenomenon as being uniquely American.

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[1] This term generally has been used interchangeably with such terms as "adolescent society," "youth culture," "teen-age culture," and so forth (cf., Boocock, 1966, p. 27).

[2] For example, in the Review of Educational Research appraisals of the status of this concept, Hess (1960) presents the issue as "one of the minor conceptual controversies in the study of adolescence," while Smith and Kleine (1966) see it as a "debate ... destined for a fate similar to that of the heredity and environment controversy."

Following the introduction of the concept of adolescent subculture, much research has focused on: whether or not adolescent subcultures actually exist as distinguishable entities; if adolescent subcultures do exist, what are their sources and general nature, and what extent of influence do adolescent subcultures exercise in different areas of adolescent behavior. We next discuss some evidence on these questions.

A. Single-Culture Studies:

1. Existence of adolescent subculture:

Although there is considerable agreement that an adolescent subculture exists (e.g., Boocock, 1966; Coleman, 1961; Gordon, 1957; Gottlieb and Ramsey, 1964; Gottlieb and Reeves, 1963; Smith, 1962), this view is not without opposition; Bealer and Willits (1961), Berger (1963), Elkin and Westley (1955), Epperson (1964), and Friesen (1966) typify those who dissent from this view, sometimes offering evidence contradicting it.

Still other investigators (e.g., Jahoda and Warren, 1965) label the question of the existence of an adolescent subculture as a "psuedo issue," arguing that each of two types of investigation is useful depending upon what they reveal: the characteristics the adolescent shares with his peer group as well as those he shares with the major culture. Epperson (1964) states: "We still need a conceptual scheme that takes into consideration the multiple loyalties of the teen-ager and the relation of these loyalties to specific situations." (p. 96) This position reflects the major focus of the present study: the relative influence of peers and family in several domains of adolescent behavior in two different cultures.

Thus, Smith and Kleine (1966) present a balanced summary of the present status of the question concerning the existence of adolescent subcultures:

> The present debate concerning the existence of an adolescent subsociety appears destined for a fate similar to that of the heredity and environment controversy: the emphatic but oversimplified "yes" and "no" answers give way to more subdued complex questions. Adolescents share some values uniquely with other adolescents on the national scale; some values are shared uniquely with specific reference groups; and some values are shared with a broader adult cultural fabric of which they represent bright old strands. For some research questions, phrased at varying conceptual levels (e.g., economic, sociological, or psychological), the use of the concept "sub-culture" may permit examination of certain discontinuities or continuous aspects; for other questions the concept will not be of help. (p. 427)

2. Sources and general nature of peer-group influence:

Newcomb (1962) argues that peer-group influence is both "determined" and "determining," thus distinguishing antecedent factors which determined the formation and behavior of the adolescent group from the consequences of adolescent-group influences. A student's desire to attend college may motivate him to seek certain peers and behave with them in certain ways. The student's college plans and his behavior to implement these plans then may be affected by his peers.

An issue related to the sources of adolescent groups -- to their "determined" properties -- is the question of whether adolescents form "contracultures" or, instead establish genuinely autonomous and independent cultural systems possessing distinctive evaluative standards. Although there is considerable belief (e.g., Coleman, 1961; Davis, 1940; Parsons, 1942; Yinger, 1960) that adolescent contracultures arise to repudiate the standards and pressures of adult society, other investigators (e.g., Schwartz and Merten, 1967; Turner, 1964) claim that an adolescent subculture is not a contraculture, resting on its power to repudiate or undermine basic adult values, but is a genuinely independent culture: "... the social categories inherent in the adolescent status terminology provide the members of this age-grade with their own world view, life styles, and moral standards." (Schwartz and Merten, 1967, p. 453) This latter view is consistent with the position that a crucial condition for the formation of a subculture is the existence, in effective interaction with each other, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment (Cohen, 1955; Gottlieb Reeves, and TenHouten, 1966).

A related alternative to the contraculture view is that adolescent peer groups operate to serve only certain limited functions: to organize particular social activities and support certain limited values and preferences (for example, in matters of taste and manners such as dress and dating patterns). This view holds that in all other basic respects beyond these limited areas, adolescent peer groups do not oppose adult standards, but are integrated with them (e.g., Bandura and Walters, 1963; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Hollingshead, 1949; Musgrove, 1966; Remmers, 1962; Remmers et al., 1966; Riley, Riley and Moore, 1962; Schwartz and Merten, 1967; Solomon, 1961; Turner, 1964). In these analyses of the adolescent subculture, those areas of adolescent life which are dictated by peer-group influence are those in which adults do not have a great stake.

Many other explanations of the sources of adolescent subculture have been offered -- almost as many as writers on the subject:

a. the speed and complexity of modern social change which undermines parental control (e.g., Davis, 1940; Keniston, 1962; Mead, 1958)

b. the affluence of a society which allows it to prolong the period of formal schooling (e.g., Bernard, 1961)

c. the unresolved ambiguity and marginality of the adolescent's role in society (e.g., Linton, 1954; Mays, 1961; Sarnoff, 1962)

d. the attempt by adult society to keep adolescents in colonial subjugation by restricting them to their own societies within the high school (e.g., Friedenberg, 1965)

e. the provision of a vehicle for emancipation from the family (e.g., Ausubel, 1954; Phelps and Horrocks, 1958)

f. the need to cushion the demands from the adult world, to mediate these demands so that the adolescent can be guided to know which of these demands he must meet and which he can ignore safely (Douvan and Gold, 1966)

g. the asynchronism between biological and social maturity and the seeking of a collective solution to this asynchronism (e.g., Elkin and Westley, 1955).

Eisenstadt's (1962) view of the sources of adolescent subculture combines several antecedent conditions: nonessential adolescent labor, pluralistic religion and secular systems, economic specialization requiring technical training, a kinship structure which does not facilitate adequately the attainment of full social status by its junior members. Clearly, no single source of adolescent subcultures will explain their existence; however, the exact combination of circumstances leading to their formation has not been established empirically.

The "determining" property of the peer group is emphasized in most studies of adolescent subculture (e.g., Gordon, 1957; Coleman, 1961; McDill, Rigsby and Meyers, 1966). We turn now to the extent and nature of these determining effects upon adolescents.

3. Extent of Influence of Adolescent Subculture:

There is some agreement (e.g., Campbell, 1964; Coleman, 1961; Parsons and Bales, 1955; Sherif and Sherif, 1964; Simpson, 1959) that the adolescent subculture has marked and widespread influence on the adolescents' developing attitudes, values, interests, and aspirations and that these influences often are divergent from or in conflict with the influences of adult society. This theme is advanced most explicitly by Coleman (1961).

> The adolescent is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age ... Our society has within its midst a set of small teen-age societies which focus teen-age interests and attitudes on things far removed from adult responsibilities and which may develop standards that lead away from those goals established by the larger society. (p. 3, 9)

However, this assertion has been questioned widely (e.g., Bandura and Walters, 1963; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Hollingshead, 1949; Musgrove, 1966; Remmers, 1962; Remmers et al., 1966; Riley, Riley, and Moore, 1961; Schwartz and Merten, 1967; Solomon, 1961; Turner, 1964). For example, Musgrove (1966) quotes evidence from England (Morris, 1958), France (Pitts, 1960), and the United States (e.g., Lucas and Horrocks, 1958; Peck and Havighurst, 1960; Riley, Riley, and Moore, 1961) which supports the view of the relative unimportance of the peer group as compared with other sources of influence. Turner (1964) contends that peer-group effects are merely superficial and ritualistic:

> The term subculture has been applied to youth behavior on the grounds that a widespread and distinctive pattern of behavior is transmitted and imposed within a youth society ... on the other hand, youth subculture is necessarily a more segmental part of the individual's life than the more common types of subculture. In addition, a suspicion is justified that youth subculture is frequently adopted ritualistically, so that it does not penetrate to the private convictions of its adherents." (p. 169)

Both views -- that the peer group is exclusive and overpowering or trivial and superficial -- need qualification: clearly, the extent of peer-group influence varies under different conditions and for different areas of adolescent behavior. Although the evidence is inconsistent, variations in the extent of peer-group influence have been studied for boys and girls, different social-class groups, different age groups, and for schools of different and geographic location. Campbell's (1964) view that the peer group has stronger effects for girls than for boys is endorsed by some studies (e.g., Anastasi and Miller, 1949; Ausubel, 1954) and contradicted by others (e.g., Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Tuma and Livson, 1960). Some studies (e.g., Ausubel, 1954; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Jones, 1958; Maas, 1954; Purnell, 1966; Stone and Church, 1957) claim that middle-class adolescents are more peer oriented than lower-class adolescents, yet other investigators (e.g., Campbell, 1964) contest this position. Peer influence presumably increases from freshman to senior year in high school (e.g., Douvan and Adelson, 1966; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Parsons, 1942), and presumably is greater for adolescents whose fathers are absent from the home (Hetherington, 1966). The variations in extent of peer influence have also been investigated for high schools of different size (e.g., Barker and Gump, 1964), and for adolescents from rural areas, small towns, and larger cities (Coleman, 1961). Finally, the extent of peer influence varies for different areas of adolescent behavior; these studies will be discussed further in our analysis of the relative impact of parents and peers.

4. Effects upon intellectual activities:

Many studies indicate that peer-group influence is deleterious to the educational and intellectual goals of the school and adult society. Coleman (1961) cites a variety of evidence to suggest that the value system of adolescents is strongly non-intellectual, if not in some respects, anti-intellectual. Tannenbaum (1962) notes that the brilliant student is an exceptionally prominent target for teen-age pressures to conform to certain behaviors and values, forcing him to deliberately mask his talent to relieve these pressures. Braham (1965) cites studies which show that the adolescent's peer group provides an intellectually negative setting rather than an intellectually nuturing one. Douvan and Gold (1966) state the similar conclusion that the dominant peer-value system in American high schools is anti-intellectual and that studies of high schools reveal the low value high school students attach to the scholarly image and the difficulty bright and competent students face in accepting the image as their own. Smith (1962) also agrees that adolescent cliques "... set up norms contrary to those of school. These are generally deterrents to academic achievement, diverting interests into athletics and social activities." (p. 79) Boocock (1966), surveying these and other studies on peer-group influence on student performance, concludes that the student's peer-group has a powerful influence upon his attitudes toward and behavior in school, often working at variance with the learning-achievement goals of the school.

Several studies (e.g., Coleman, 1961; Gordon, 1957; Remmers and Radler, 1957; Tannenbaum, 1962) point to one consequence of the anti-intellectual atmosphere of the adolescent subculture: the need to dissimulate in order to hide or mask intellectual accomplishment. Douvan and Gold (1966) conclude that, while adolescents will not necessarily punish academic achievement directly, they favor a kind of application to the job of student which is neither too diligent nor too compliant.

As has been true of almost every observation made about the operation of the adolescent subculture, once again there are dissenters to the non-intellectual or anti-intellectual characterization of the adolescent group (e.g., Campbell, 1964; Peck and Gallani, 1962). For example, Turner (1964) states that his findings "... belie an effective youth conspiracy against academic excellence." (p. 169)

5. Effects upon educational plans and aspirations:

It would appear that a direct transition should exist between the topics of intellectualism and educational aspirations among adolescents, with the supposition being that a strong positive relationship operates between the two. McDill and Coleman (1963) found, however, no such positive relationship, which they explained as follows:

> Whatever the association that adults see between college and intellectualism, the adolescents who are at the center of their high school social systems see the two as quite distinct entities: college containing the promise of adult status, but intellectualism carrying the connotations of acquiesence and subordination to adults.

Nonetheless, the strong effect of the peer group on intellectual activities reappears in the studies which consider educational plans and aspirations (e.g., Alexander and Campbell, 1964; Boyle, 1966; Coleman, 1961; McDill and Coleman, 1965; McDill, Meyers, and Rigsby, 1966; Michael, 1961; Simpson, 1962; Wilson, 1959). Herriott's (1963) finding is typical, that a strong independent relationship exists between level of educational aspiration and the expectation perceived from a friend of the same age.

In addition, McDill and Coleman (1965) report that from the freshman to the senior year in high school, the contribution of peer influence and status to variation in college plans increases for both sexes; however, this increase is greater for boys than for girls.

Once again, dissenting findings appear. Haller and Butterworth (1960) found no conclusive evidence that peer interaction affects level of educational and vocational aspiration. Similarly, Turner (1964) reports no clear relationships between peer-group effects and ambition.

6. Other effects of peer-group influence:

The most frequent discussions of peer-group influence describe its function as a frame of reference for emancipation from the family, the achievement of independent status, and the development of a differentiated sense of identity (e.g., Ausubel, 1954, Campbell, 1964; Muus, 1962; Phelps and Horrocks, 1958; Schmuck and Lohman, 1965; Sherif and Cantril, 1947). Almost as frequent are discussions of peer-group effects upon the adolescents' self-concept (Rivlin, 1959; Rosenberg, 1965; Sherif and Sherif, 1964, 1965a, b) and the development of appropriate sex roles (e.g., Schwartz and Merten, 1967; Smith, 1962). Schmuck and Lohman (1965) review the studies which indicate that the adolescent period is especially conducive to peer influence upon personality development.

In addition the peer group also has been shown to display strong effects upon the adolescents' religious beliefs (Rosen, 1965), political ideology (e.g., Schiff, 1964; Solomon and Fishman, 1964; Wilson, 1959), and moral development (Kohlberg, in press). Since the peer-group influence upon less serious issues of taste, preferences, and manners has been documented amply, almost the entire gamut of possible behavioral effects of the peer group upon the adolescent has some empirical confirmation. Of course, this documentation exists in scattered and unrelated studies, leaving unresolved the questions of which areas of behavior or attitude are most affected by peer influence and how these effects compare with the simultaneous impacts of other socialization forces.

B. Cross-cultural studies of peer-group influences:

There is no scarcity of cross-cultural studies of adolescence (cf., Grinder and Englund, 1966; Havighurst, 1963); however, very few cross-cultural studies compare societies for the peer-groups' influence upon the adolescents' attitudes, values, preferences, and aspirations.

Cross-cultural analyses of adolescence include studies of attitudes (e.g., Barge, 1964; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Peck and Guerrero, 1963; Stoodley, 1957), personality (e.g., Becker and Carroll, 1962; Havighurst et al., 1965), educational performance (Foshay, Thorndike, Hotyat, Pidgeon, and Walker, 1962; Husen, 1967), suicide (Iga, 1961), "ego-ideal" (Wheeler, 1961), internalization of norms of acceptable social conduct (Boehm, 1957; Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, Suci, and Rogers, 1966), perception of the teacher (Anderson, Anderson, Cohen, and Nutt, 1959), anticipated post-high school problems (Remmers, 1962), political ideology (e.g., Converse and Dupeaux, 1962; Hess, 1963), effects of child socialization (Devereux, 1965, 1966; Whiting and Child, 1953), the norms of behavior which adolescents consider appropriate in responding to persons perceived as possessing certain objectional characteristics (Triandis and Triandis, 1962; Triandis, Davis and Takezawa, 1965), and the adolescent rebellion and alienation from adult society as well as the various forms of social control of adolescent nonconformity (Bronfenbrenner, 1962; Fukami, 1961; Hsu, Watrous and Lord, 1960/61; Lifton, 1962; Mays, 1961, 1965; Murphy, 1963; Rabin, 1961).

A topic which has received attention in several cross-cultural studies is the adolescents' occupational plans and preferences. Unfortunately, these studies do not allow comparison and generalization since their samples were so diverse. Kanungo (1960) worked in India and America, Katz (1962) in Australia and Great Britain, Tyler and Sundberg in Holland and America, Smith, Ramsey and Castillo (1963) in Japan, the Phillipines, and America. Ausubel (1961) studied Maori and European youth in New Zealand, and Lambert and Klineberg (1963, 1967) studied adolescents in eleven countries, including Turkey, Germany, Japan, and Lebanon. In general, occupational choice among adolescents in all countries becomes more realistic with increasing age, but other generalizations are difficult to extract.

Several writers (e.g., Campbell, 1964) have suggested that peer influence plays a larger role in the United States than in certain other cultures, although the evidence for this is weak. Hsu, Watrous, and Lord (1960/61) interpret their data on Chinese youths in Hawaii and American youths in Chicago as reflecting greater peer effects in the United States, and Maslow and Diaz-Guerrero (1960) interpret Mexican-American differences in the same manner. However, no rigorous empirical evidence has accumulated on this topic as yet.

To summarize the results of both single-culture and cross-culture studies of peer group influences, most investigators agree that adolescent subcultures indeed do exist, in one form or another, as distinct entities and that their effects upon adolescents are both powerful and diverse. Proposed explanations of the sources of adolescent subcultures are speculative and appear in all shapes and sizes, ranging from dynamics based upon "contraculture" to "being in the same boat." A minority of researchers believe that adolescent subcultures are a myth, and that, since they do not exist, searches for their sources and the nature and extent of their influence are meaningless. The scattered cross-cultural studies on peer-group influence have not illuminated the operation of multiple reference groups upon the adolescents or the manner in which these multiple loyalties affect different domains of adolescent behavior.

IV. Family Influences upon Adolescents:

Most studies of the family have focused upon intra-family interactions, ignoring the simultaneous operation of other socializing forces. Since the literature on these intra-family influences upon adolescent development is so extensive and since the major focus of this study is upon the simultaneous assessment of family and peer influences, no general topical analysis of intra-family effects is offered in this introduction. Instead, as specific issues relevant to family influence are tested in subsequent chapters, the relevant literature will be reviewed at those later points. Thus, the studies of family influence upon adolescents' values, attitudes, educational and occupational aspirations, self-concept, and peer-group behavior will be reviewed in Chapters 7-12.

In addition to these specific studies, several general sources are useful in the analysis of family effects upon adolescent behavior. Especially valuable is the review by Furstenberg (1967) on transmission of attitudes in the family as well as the following descriptions of families within single cultures: Boocock (1966), Douvan and Adelson (1966), Dubin and Dubin (1965), Glidewell (1961), Holtzman and Moore (1965), Nye and Berardo (1966), Schmuck and Lohman (1965), Shanas and Streib (1965), Smith (1962), and Zelditch (1964a). General cross-cultural descriptions of family structure and influence include: Brembeck (1966), Hill (1962), Marsh (1967), Nimkoff (1965), Stephens (1963), Sussman (1966), Whiting and Child (1953), and Zelditch (1964b).

V. Relative Influence of Peers and Family:

The focus of the present study is upon the simultaneous assessment of several socializing influences upon the adolescent. However, the question of relative influence of parents and peers requires at least two extensions to retain its inherent complexity: what are the multiple loyalties of adolescents (1) in each of several domains of adolescent behavior, and (2) under different cultural conditions? As McDill and Coleman (1965) indicate, "The relative contributions of family background and of peer influences have been somewhat neglected." (p. 111) This simple formulation of the problem indeed has been neglected; the more complex formulation -- considering relative influence in different areas of behavior and under different cultural conditions -- has been almost entirely ignored.

A. Relative Influence, "Contraculture," and the Hydraulic Theory of Adolescent Behavior:

One approach to the issue of relative influence of peers and parents is the "contraculture" interpretations of the adolescent subculture (e.g., Coleman, 1961; Davis, 1940; Parsons, 1942; Yinger, 1960). In this view, adolescent groups arise to oppose and repudiate the standards and pressures of adult society.

This contraculture position is, in turn, related to the most prevalent theory of adolescent response to competing influences: the "hydraulic" view which holds that "... the less the level of involvement with parents, the greater the level of involvement with peers, and vice versa." (Gottlieb, Reeves, and TenHouten, 1966, p. 42)

Many investigators who propose that peer influences are prepotent for the adolescent share this "hydraulic" theory. For example, Douvan and Adelson (1966) state that, in rejecting one source of authority, the parent, the adolescent substitutes another, the peers. Coleman's (1961) position, particularly pertinent to the present study, is the most solidly based in a hydraulic theory, assuming that the stronger the rejection of adult standards, the stronger the acceptance of peer standards (and, conversely, the stronger the acceptance of adults, the less the need for accepting peer influence).

Even those investigators (e.g., Musgrove, 1966; Remmers, 1962) who propose that the balance of power is in favor of parents and not peers often implicitly subscribe to a hydraulic interpretation. Here the application of the hydraulic theory contends that since adults continue to exert strong influence upon the adolescent in his fundamental decisions, peer-group effects do not play an important role. Thus, the hydraulic theory -- whether adult influences or peer effects are considered prepotent -- rests upon the assumption that the adolescent will lean upon some external agent: if not parents, then peers; if not peers, then parents.

B. An Alternative Theory: Generalized Social Interaction.

There is no a priori basis for accepting the assumption of the hydraulic theory that strong commitment to adult standards is accompanied uniformly by weak commitment to peers, and vice versa. Consistent with Riesman's (1950) typology of "inner-directed" and "outer-directed" personalities, adolescents may display differing levels of generalized social interaction, some adolescents depending heavily upon several external agents, parents and peers, others depending little upon either parents or peers.

This alternative theory of a generalized level of social interaction allowed Won, Yamamura and Ikeda (1965) to categorize adolescents into groups high in response to both "parent and peer counseling" and low in response to both sources. The operation of a generalized social-interaction level led Morris (1958) to conclude that "With the decline of reliance upon authority comes the judgment that one should not lean too heavily upon friends." Thus, some adolescents will follow conscientiously both parent and peer standards, others may ignore both sources with equal conscientiousness.

C. The "Hydraulic" and "Generalized Social Interaction" Theories Combined:

These alternative theoretical ideas are not necessarily incompatible, and both theories have implications for the present study's analysis of concordance between the adolescent and his parents and peers. The "hydraulic" position would predict that, in certain areas of adolescent behavior and under certain cultural conditions, adolescents will show high concordance with parents and low concordance with peers or vice versa. The "generalized social interaction" theory predicts that, in other domains of behavior and under different cultural conditions, adolescents will display high concordance with both parents and peers or low concordance with both.

Very few empirical precedents exist for predicting this full range of relative concordances between the adolescent and his parents and peers. However, a few studies suggest how differing patterns of concordance may operate in different areas of adolescent behavior and under different cultural conditions. For example, the findings of Riley, Riley, and Moore (1961) suggest (1) high concordance between the adolescent and both parents and peers on the desirability of being popular with peers, (2) high concordance with parents and low concordance with peers on the adolescent's expectations about his future adult role, and (3) low concordance with parents and high concordance with peers in the adolescent's desire to "have a good time."

A recent program of cross-cultural research (Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, Suci, and Rogers, 1966; Devereux, 1965) allows some additional elaboration of both the hydraulic and generalized-social-interaction theories of adolescent behavior. Under experimental conditions designed to manipulate adult and peer pressure upon the adolescent, Devereux (1965) reports four categories of adolescent reaction. Two categories reflect the dynamics of the hydraulic theory: (1) adolescents who yield to adult pressure but resist peer pressure (the "adult conformers"), and (2) adolescents who resist adults but yield to peers (the "peer conformers"). The remaining two categories of adolescent reaction reflect the operation of generalized social interaction: (1) adolescents who yield to both adult and peer pressures (the "general conformists"), and (2) adolescents who resist both types of pressure (the "autonomous" adolescents).

Other findings of this research program relate to these alternative theoretical positions. With respect to cross-cultural differences in response to peer pressure toward deviant behavior, the hydraulic alternatives appear: English adolescents are reported to be far more peer-oriented than adult-oriented than Americans (Devereux, 1965) who in turn are more peer-oriented than adult-oriented when compared with adolescents in the USSR (Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, Suci, and Rogers, 1966). However, another finding of this cross-cultural research suggests the operation of generalized levels of social interaction; in the Soviet sample, strong adherence to both peer- and adult standards co-existed (an expression of generalized social interaction), whereas in the American sample, strong adherence to peers accompanied weak adherence to adults and vice versa (both expressing the hydraulic operation).

Given the prevalence of the hydraulic theory of adolescent behavior it is not surprising that almost all other students of parent and peer effects define areas in which high parent-low peer or low parent-high peer concordances operate. Parental influence reportedly is stronger than peer effects for occupational aspirations (e.g., Simpson, 1962), degree of deviant behavior (e.g., Won, Yamamura, and Ikeda, 1965), dating or reporting a delinquent act (e.g., Brittain, 1963), political preferences (e.g., Remmers, 1962), expectations about their subsequent adult values (e.g., Riley, Riley, and Moore, 1961), joining a school club (e.g., Coleman, 1961), friendship selection (e.g., Westley and Elkin, 1956), and even such matters as the use of the family car, proper behavior on dates, and appropriate punishment for misbehavior (e.g., Hackett, 1951). In contrast, peer influence presumably predominates in affecting academic performance (e.g., Coleman, 1961), religious norms (e.g., Rosen, 1955b, 1965), courses to be taken in school and clothes to wear (e.g., Brittain, 1963), sex role identification (e.g., Neiman, 1954), and educational aspirations (e.g., McDill and Coleman, 1965). Douvan and Adelson (1966) summarize these indicators of relative influence by contending that on deeper issues of morals and personal problems and in important decision and conflict choices, adult influence predominates, whereas for more superficial matters of taste and manner, peer influence operates more strongly. They claim that peer opinion is most authoritative in those areas that the parents do not deeply feel to be at stake; where the adults do have a stake, the adolescent remains fairly responsive to parental standards.

The previous studies on relative effects of peers and parents all suffer from reliance upon either indirect or non-independent measures of influence. As an example of indirect assessment, McDill and Coleman (1965) rely upon a measure of fathers' education as their indicator of parental educational aspirations. Examples of non-independent measurement are Simpson (1962) and Brittain (1963) in which the adolescent's report of parental behavior is used to assess parental influence. Both direct and independent measurement appear to be necessary conditions for research in this area.

Our theoretical interest, then, is upon (1) the simultaneous influence of several socializing agents upon the adolescents, (2) in a wide variety of adolescent behaviors, and (3) under differing cultural conditions. To study this theoretical issue, certain minimum methodological conditions seem necessary: (1) the use of direct indicators of influence and adolescent behavior, (2) gathered independently from the different sources of influence upon the adolescent. These theoretical interests and methodological requirements dictate the design of the study discussed in the following chapters: the selection of a limited number of schools in each society, with the complete census of adolescents, parents, and teachers in these schools studied intensively.

Chapter 2

Advantages and Problems of Cross-cultural Research

To place in context the specific research methods and procedures of this study, an overview is provided of the values and obstacles in comparative cross-cultural research. Described then in the chapter which follows are the steps taken in this investigation to capitalize upon these advantages and to contend with the problems of cross-cultural comparisons.

I. Advantages of Cross-cultural Research:

A. Provide Contrasting Experimental Conditions:

Campbell (1961) cites an early example of two contrasting cultures providing experimental and control conditions for exploring parental influences upon personality.

> Freud validly observed that boys in late Hapsburgian Vienna had hostile feelings toward their fathers. Two possible explanations offered themselves -- the hostility could be due to the father's role as the disciplinarian, or to the father's role as the mother's lover ... Freud chose to emphasize the role of the mother's lover. However, working only with his patient population there was no adequate basis for making the choice. The two rival explanations were experimentally confounded, for among the parents of Freud's patients the disciplinarian of little boys was usually the mother's lover ... Malinowski (1927) studied a society in which these two parental roles were experimentally disentangled, in which the disciplinarian of young boys and the mother's lover were not one-and-the-same person. And in this society, the boys' hostility was addressed to the disciplinarian, not to the mother's lover ... While the love-jealousy and the punishment Oedipal theories are no doubt both appropriate to some extent, Malinowski's work helps to integrate personality theory within learning theory and gives us a firmer base upon which to predict the Oedipal complex of the son of a commuting suburban father where the mother is the only source of discipline. (p. 335)

Thus, in many cross-cultural studies the investigator views contrasting cultures as laboratory treatments providing groups for the testing of hypotheses derived from theory (e.g., Goethals and Whiting, 1957; Murdock, 1949; Whiting and Child, 1953). Theorizing that certain experiences will affect individuals in particular ways, the investigator searches for cultures to serve as natural experimental and control groups to test the idea. The laboratory treatments are considered to be represented in the cultural conditions in which the subjects live (Brown, 1964; Strodbeck, 1964).

One clear limitation exists in this use of contrasting cultures to provide the analogue of experimental and control groups. To maximize experimental variance, the differences between contrasting groups should be as large as possible when compared to differences among subjects within each group, i.e., greater variance should exist between cultures than among the sub-groups within a culture. Thus, the use of cross-cultural comparisons to provide the analogue of laboratory treatments requires an assumption: that sub-groups within a larger culture have a higher probability of resembling each other (and the larger embedding culture of which they are a part) than the contrasting culture.

It is not always plausible to accept this assumption without supporting empirical evidence. Within each culture studied, there may be overriding influences which submerge comparisons between cultures: differences between sexes, among age groups, intellectual-ability groups, social classes and so forth. These intra-culture differences may be such powerful determinants of certain types of behavior that cross-cultural differences become trivial in contrast to these other influences. The variations within a system often can represent more critical independent variables than variables operating between systems.

However, some empirical tests (e.g., Havighurst, 1962) supply confirmation for the assumption of greater between-culture differences than within-culture differences. Even the evidence (e.g., Pearlin and Kohn, 1966) of important differences among social strata in each culture indicates that between-culture differences are not submerged.

Thus, the use of cross-cultural research to provide contrasting experimental effects requires greater between-culture than within-culture differences, requiring in turn that these conditions either be assumed plausibly or demonstrated empirically.

B. Extend the Range of Behaviors:

Within a single culture, the range of behaviors (and scores representing these behaviors) on certain variables often is so attenuated that adequate analyses of functional relationships involving these variables can not be made. Another potential advantage of cross-cultural research is that specific variables can have a more extended range over two or more cultures than they do within a single culture, allowing more reliable analyses of these variables. Thus, one of the functions of cross-cultural research has been identified (Sears, 1961) as "... providing a population sample, for testing hypotheses, that offers greater extremes on relevant variables, and broader variation among irrelevant variables, than can be obtained within a single culture." (p. 445)

C. Establish the Scope of Generalizations:

What generalizations operate transculturally? In contrast, what generalizations operate only within the boundaries of a particular culture or set of environmental conditions? Bendix (1963) offers a refinement of these questions by suggesting that comparative sociological studies represent an attempt to develop "intermediate level" concepts and generalization at a level between what is true of all societies and what is true of one society at one point in time and space. One objective of comparative studies is to discover generalizations about social interaction which transcend the boundaries of limited populations (e.g., the ubiquitous college sophomore) or even the boundaries of single nations and cultures (March, 1967). Cross-cultural research is impelled by the

> ... realization that relationships between variables found within one culture are only truly generalizable when subjected to the test of cross-cultural comparisons ...
> (Sussman, 1966, p. 3)

In the behavioral sciences, it is crucial that limited, culture-specific generalizations be separated from broader, more generic conclusions. Only cross-cultural studies can do this.

D. Generate New Hypotheses, Taxonomies, and Data:

The advantages already noted pertain to efforts to build and test theory through cross-cultural analyses. It has been argued, however, that the full and proper scope of cross-cultural studies is not merely the testing of predetermined hypotheses, but rather that

> ... it is expressly in the generation of new hypotheses that the cross-cultural method has its particular strength. (Strodbeck, 1964, p. 228)

Thus, an additional value exists in the "naturalist's" efforts (Gutmann, 1966) to generate new hypotheses, taxonomies, and data -- to locate totally unanticipated regularities.

> ... cross-cultural experience gets us out of our social skin, and out of our accustomed psychosocial ecology ... our new milieu begins to take on structure, and our subjective, private response to the alien habitat gives us our first approximation of some important regularities occurring there. (Gutmann, 1966, pp. 4-5)

The cross-cultural method increases the probability that surprising new phenomena will be encountered, providing the impetus for revision and expansion of the investigator's culturally-given taxonomy of human experience. This creation of new questions, taxonomies, and data perhaps is not as prominent in cross-cultural studies of modern societies, but has been basic to the historical development of cultural anthropology and related disciplines.

E. Provide an Antidote to Scientific Provincialism:

Closely tied to the value of cross-cultural research in generating new questions and new data is its value in extending the breadth of the behavioral sciences and scientists:

> American social psychology has shown signs of endemic narrowness of vision, both in the laboratory and the field. Though a cross-cultural perspective is no guarantee of intellectual breadth or of quality, it may help to sustain a more adequate sense of proportion and scope. This point is not a new one, but it is worth making for two reasons. First, we need to be reminded that styles of work have a way, in science as elsewhere, of becoming provincial (even stereotypes) almost imperceptibly ... second, we have not developed

> a clear conception of what cross-cultural work can and should do, or what its problems are -- beyond some customary generalities about the importance of comparative studies or the troubles of translation. (Seeman, 1966, p. 307)

The values of cross-cultural research reviewed above seem powerful and compelling for many fields of behavioral science. Why has the capitalizing upon these values progressed so little and so sporadically? The problems of conducting cross-cultural research are formidable indeed; it is to an analysis of these problems -- "troubles of translation" and otherwise -- that we now turn.

II. Problems of Cross-cultural Research:

The problems of comparative cross-cultural research are not in principle unique -- reflections of its problems appear in other approaches to research. However, these problems are somewhat different in that they are in the very early stages of identification and solution; psychologists and sociologists have had little direct experience in conducting cross-cultural research to provide clear definitions of the obstacles encountered. The problems also are different in that they demand several compromises with traditional designs (and even with the investigator's original research objectives), which may sacrifice rigor and precision but are necessary if the research is to be conducted at all.

As is documented clearly (e.g., Useem and Grimshaw, 1966), the rigorous comparative study of psychological and sociological issues is just beginning, and we are a considerable distance from knowing how to conceptualize and conduct such comparisons among societies. As late as 1966, Sussman summarized cross-cultural studies of the family as follows:

> The most obvious finding from the review of cross-national family research to date is that scarcely a single study meets the minimum criteria of good research. Cross-cultural research in particular should contain the following ingredients:
>
> 1. Conceptual clarity in the formulation of the research problem ...

2. The development and utilization of research designs, methodologies, techniques, and instruments which can control the confounding effects of cross-cultural nonequivalence

3. Adequate financing and knowledge regarding realistic costs and sources of funding

4. Adequate organization and administration ... (p. 2)

Despite the interest of the first generation of American sociologists (e.g., W.E. Sumner, W.I. Thomas, E.A. Ross, R.E. Park) in the comparative study of societies, modern sociologists and psychologists are newcomers to cross-cultural investigations (cf. Berrien, 1966). Ethnographers and cultural anthropologists have built a tradition and experience in conducting descriptive studies and in developing taxonomies that facilitate the comparison of different societies. Even such disciplines as political science have accumulated experience in conducting cross-cultural studies (e.g., Almond and Verba, 1963; Macridis and Cox, 1953; Marsh, 1967; Merritt and Rokkan, 1966). Sociology and psychology have not accumulated this experience as yet. Cross-cultural analysis in sociology, Marsh (1967) observes, "... is descriptive and qualitative, and its concern with validation is more often limited to case studies and typological analysis. Sophisticated sampling design, multivariate statistical analysis, and other more rigorous techniques are conspicuously absent ..." (p. 258)

American behavioral scientists are newcomers to cross-cultural work in another sense as well: most Americans conducting research in foreign countries are there for the first time. These "sabbatical internationalists" (Hill, 1962, p. 445) do not have sufficient time to acquire the necessary experience and sophistication to conduct effective comparative research, and whatever insights are achieved are lost upon return to the provincially-based university.

The major consequence of the behavioral scientists' failure to confront and solve the conceptual and methodological problems in cross-cultural research is the introduction of extravagant amounts of non-random error into the conceptualizations, observations, and interpretations. However, it is not primarily the amount of error that subverts cross-cultural research but the non-randomness of the error in being systematically different for the societies compared. Although cross-cultural research may be able to accommodate and sustain a certain amount of random error (and will probably be forced to continue doing so until more sophisticated approaches to cross-cultural research develop), systematic, non-randomly distributed error can not be sustained. As an example of non-random error or measurement, instruments with reliabilities of .60 in each society being compared would constitute a serious if not incapacitating constraint on cross-cultural research. However, instruments with .80 reliability in one society and .40 in another would be hopelessly debilitating.

Certainly, part of the difficulty in conducting adequate comparative research in sociology and psychology is the relative recency of its development. Equally important is the formidable array of the conceptual and methodological problems posed by comparative research. This section attempts to organize and describe these problems.

A. Conceptualization: Comparability of Research Issues

The most widely noted obstacle in cross-cultural studies -- that of the bias and narrowness of the "culture-bound" researcher whose experiences and theoretical background have been limited to a single culture -- appears first in discussions of the conceptualization of the research question (e.g., Berrien, 1966; Campbell, 1964; Deutscher, 1968; Hill, 1962; Nieuwenuijze, 1963; Sussman, 1966). This problem of the researcher's bias then reverberates throughout each state of the research process, influencing methodology, data analysis, interpretation, and so forth. The distorted (and explcitave) character of such research has been given the appropriate label of "safari" or "expeditionary" study.

Despite efforts (e.g., Aberle et al., 1950; Henry, 1960; Kluckhohn, C., 1953; Klockhohn, F., 1952; Malinowski, 1944; Parsons and Shils, 1951; Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965) to establish "universal categories" (Sjoberg, 1955) or "common denominators" (Murdock et al., 1950) which operate across cultures, it nonetheless is true that not all research problems can be investigated in all societies. The biases introduced by provincialism may blind investigators from awareness that significant researchable problems within their culture may not be researchable at all within another because of vast differences in the societies' premises, concepts, levels of abstraction, and taboos. This clearly indicates that at the very earliest stages of any cross-cultural research, it is absolutely essential to establish relationships among researchers who are representative of the cultures to be compared to insure that the issues to be examined are in fact relevant and researchable in each culture.

In the present cross-cultural study of adolescent subcultures, Danes were blunt, direct, yet typically wry on this issue, asking "How can you understand us when we do not understand ourselves?" The Danes were too civilized and courteous to ban or prevent such inquiry, as has been reported elsewhere (e.g., Berrien, 1966; Nieuwenuijze, 1963), but instead assisted in the securing of a maximum of Danish professional consultation and direct assistance.

However, an example of a researchable question in one country becoming unreasearchable in another did arise in the present Danish-American comparison. We originally had conceptualized our research question as examining the relative impacts upon adolescents of several influences, teachers as well as peers and parents. Sussman (1966) suggests that one approach in selecting universal concepts for cross-cultural research is to select issues or problems each society faces and examine the way it goes about finding a solution. The socialization of adolescents is a problem faced in every society and we reasoned that all socializing agents -- including teachers -- would act to examine and rationalize their influence. Accordingly, we approached the Danish teachers for cooperation on the premise that they would acknowledge the desirability of being analytic about teaching and the characteristics of their students. The first hint that this premise was not accepted by Danish teachers occurred during the pre-test phase of developing the research instruments to be used with the teachers. Despite their apparent willingness to cooperate, the Danish teachers claimed that they were unaccustomed to considering analytically matters of adolescent interactions and could express no judgments or opinions. Indeed, despite strenuous efforts, only 30% of the Danish teachers completed the research materials in the study proper, forcing us to abandon this component of the investigation. We have no definitive explanation for this occurrence, but our transfer of a false premise -- that teachers in both cultures would consider analysis of adolescent development to be desirable -- most plausibly reflects the teachers' informal comments to us.

To this point, we have discussed the researcher's problems when significant variables in his own culture do not operate as variables within the contrasting culture. Less visible but equally serious are problems involved in the researcher's recognition that a non-existent variable in his own culture indeed is a powerful determinant of behavior in the contrasting culture. Again, only thorough immersion in that culture (with the help of cooperating colleagues) will sensitize the researcher to new variables which must be considered if the cross-cultural investigation is to be complete (Blood and Takeshita, 1964).

B. Measurement: Comparability of Research Instruments

The problems of measurement in cross-cultural research are so strong that the researcher may "... settle for measuring the measurable as an index of what he would like to evaluate." (Mosteller, 1966, p. 17) These problems may be viewed as the need to maintain in each society compared, (1) equal reliability and validity of research instruments, (2) comparability of "meaning" of words and concepts.

Seen as problems of equivalent reliability and validity, accurate and relevant measurement presupposes that the subjects in each society indeed hold some attitude or value to be measured, the subjects in each society have some degree of willingness to express the attitude or value either directly or indirectly, and the stimuli used to elicit the subjects' attitudes and values have equivalent connotations in concept or behavioral referents in each society.

Problems of measurement in cross-cultural work also have been viewed as difficulties in establishing comparability of "meaning," when "questions are addressed to publics who vary in their everyday lexicon, syntax, and phenome." (Deutscher, 1968) Anderson (1967) regards the equivalence of "meaning" as a special case of equivalent reliability and validity: if "construct validity" is considered, in establishing equivalent meaning the researcher attempts to establish that the same construct exists and is being tapped in each society compared. Anderson (1967, p. 125) regards the following questions as essential:

1. How do we know that we are asking the same question in two or more settings?

2. What is the minimum level of equivalence necessary for two questions to be considered the same?

3. What criteria can be established for equivalence?

To which questions we may add

4. How can equivalence of meaning be maximized?

Thus, measurement in cross-cultural research must assess variables that (1) exist in each society, (2) are expressed in each society, and (3) are elicited by stimuli equivalent in meaning in each society. Each of these topics will be discussed in turn.

1. Existence of Datum to be Measured: The "No Opinion" Problem

The investigator should become aware that a particular research issue is not equally researchable in each culture during the conceptualization phase of the study. If not, this awareness may arise clearly during the measurement phase, when the subjects studied are totally unable to comprehend the meaning of the terms or concepts or have no experiences related to the questions. Even during the measurement phase, several forces block the researchers awareness that certain questions or issues have no meaning or relevance whatever in certain of the cultures compared. For example, many subjects will attempt answers to questions they do not understand at all in order to avoid the appearance of ignorance or from a desire to please the experimenter. In cross-cultural research, it is especially critical that the researcher -- either during conceptualization or measurement operations -- remain open to signs that subjects cannot possibly respond reliably or validly because they have no opinion, judgement, or experience whatever on the issue raised.

If the subject's position on an issue is to be measured, he indeed must hold some position. An example of the non-existence of datum to be measured arose early in the present study of Danish and American adolescents. Coleman (1961) reports the responses of American adolescents to the question: "Thinking of all the boys in this school, who would you most want to be like?" During both individual and group pre-testing in Denmark, it became apparent that this concept had no meaning for the majority of Danish adolescents. This lack of understanding did not seem a function of translation difficulties; numerous alternative translations were attempted with uniform failure to evoke understanding. For purposes of our study, we were forced to delete the item entirely for the Danish sample.

Later in this section on measurement problems, we shall discuss the complex difficulties in maintaining linguistic and conceptual equivalence of research instruments in each society compared. The prior point made here is that, for some questions in some societies, neither linguistic nor conceptual equivalence can be achieved since there are simply no words, concepts, levels of abstraction, or experiences existing to be measured on these issues. A great danger in cross-cultural studies is for the researcher to believe that he actually is measuring the opinions of the subjects when, in reality, the subjects hold no opinions at all.

2. Boundaries of Privacy:

The issue of the non-existence of datum to be measured depends upon the subject's ability to hold the position on a question. Also required for reliable and valid assessment is the subject's willingness to express his position, either directly or indirectly Societies differ widely in the defined boundaries of privacy in expressing personal judgements. Beyond these boundaries, again it is fruitless for the researcher to struggle with problems of linguistic or conceptual equivalence unless he can evoke some expression of these private judgements. Several studies (e.g., Hunt, Crane, and Wahlke, 1964; Lerner, 1956, 1961) refer to general feelings among European respondents that research questions represent unwarranted intrusions into their personal affairs. Knowledge of the boundaries of privacy as defined by the Danes was crucial to the present cross-cultural study.

Danes apparently share a salient characteristic with other western European countries -- a characteristic the Danes call "andeligblufaerdighed," referring to the unwillingness of Danes to reveal themselves beyond a carefully-defined point, a reluctance to expose their ideas, beliefs, and feelings beyond a certain boundary. Kurt Lewin (1948) and others have noted this characteristic in other European countries, but in Denmark it is not immediately apparent. Danes appear so approachable that the impression received by the researcher is that he will be allowed to discuss almost any subject freely and openly with them. This is by no means so. There is an institutionalized, implicit agreement among the Danes that says "this far and no further." The researcher must know where these boundaries are or he certainly must fail. Yet locating these boundaries is not all simple. One difficulty is that the boundaries vary according to generation: the older Danes show considerable reluctance to discuss private ideas and the younger generation seems in a state of change and some conflict about this, moving away from a rigid "andeligblufaerdighed" pattern, but not quite settling as yet on its own boundaries.

Thus, socially-prescribed restrictions involving privacy -- related to the subject's willingness to express his opinions, values, or attitudes -- must be identified clearly before effective cross-cultural measurement can be achieved.

3. Linguistic and Conceptual Equivalence:

The most widely-discussed issue in the conduct of cross-cultural research is the achievement of linguistic and conceptual equivalence in measurement (Anderson, 1967; Blood and Takeshita, 1964; Deutscher, 1968; Doob, 1958; Jacobson, 1954; Hill, 1962; Hudson, Barakat, and LaForge, 1959; Marsh, 1967; Mitchell, 1965; Osgood, 1964; Rokkan, 1962; Rommetveit and Israël, 1954; Schachter, 1954; Schuman, 1966; Sears, 1961; Stern, 1953; Sussman, 1966). Linguistic and conceptual equivalence apply not only to the words and concepts contained in the stimulus materials but to the the continua used as response categories: Yes no; always, frequently, seldom, never, and so forth. Different languages provide linguistic markers at different points on these continua (Deutscher, 1967).

The scope of the problems of linguistic and conceptual equivalence in cross-cultural research transcends between-culture comparisons. Linguistic and conceptual variations within the cultures compared also demand attention, adding intra-cultural considerations to the inter-cultural differences in establishing linguistic and conceputal equivalence in measurement.

Several techniques have been suggested for circumventing the problem of linguistic equivalence and avoiding the potential biases of translation: e..g, the "semantic differential" technique (McGinn, Harburg, and Ginsburg, 1965; Osgood, 1964), use of non-verbal projective techniques (e.g., Henry, 1961; Lindsey, 1961), methods of ranking (e.g., Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961) and rating (e.g., Cantril, 1965). However, most investigators -- relying upon verbal techniques -- do begin the process of achieving linguistic and conceptual equivalence by first attempting to establish lexical equivalence. But as Anderson (1967) indicates, lexical equivalence requires more than having a native speaker (of the non-English language) translate and having a second bilingual check the first, although several studies (e.g., Gough and Sandhu, 1964; Lovaas, 1958; Sundberg, 1956) appear to believe that this process is sufficient.

The technique ordinarily employed to secure precise language equivalence is called "back translation," an iterative process of having the translated version translated back into the original language by an independent translator; several cycles of translation and back translation allow additional refinement through successive approximations.

Although the "back translation" process now is in common use, its limitations have been documented convincingly (e.g., Deutscher, 1968; Phillips, 1960; Schuman, 1966). Even extremely accurate literal translation is nothing more than the first step in seeking semantic equivalence -- equivalence of conceptual meaning in the differing contexts of the societies compared:

> The back translation procedure does indeed guarantee that the words translate accurately or reveal that that they do not. But back translation can also instill a false sense of security in the investigator by demonstrating a spurious lexical equivalence ... it is not sufficient to know simply that the words are equivalent. It is necessary to know the extent to which those literally equivalent words and phrases convey equivalent meanings in the two languages or cultures: are we in fact asking the same question from the perspective of these culturally diverse respondents? (Deutscher, 1968)

Beginning with the necessary lexical equivalence as a base of comparability, the researcher must be assured that conceptual equivalence has not been lost or reduced in the process of achieving lexical equivalence. "Functional" equivalence must not be weakened in the effort to attain "Formal" equivalence (Marsh, 1967). The survey researcher conducting "back translations"

> ... who realizes the ease with which unwanted connotations are added and wanted connotations are lost, cannot help but be aware that wording can be equally meaningful to both parties without the meaning being shared. (Schuman, 1966, p. 218)

Sears (1961) has specified several criteria for establishing the necessary conceptual equivalence, such as the transcultural existence of learning conditions and particular "environmental events."

In the effort to establish conceptual as well as linguistic equivalence in the present study, our pretesting of instruments combined "back translation" with both individual and group field interviewing which included the use of probing techniques (cf. Schuman, 1966). In the field interviews, the investigators probed by following the subject's response with additional questions to determine if the respondent's notion of the meaning of the question was that intended by the investigator. Thus, the traditional "back translation" procedures were interspersed in an iterative fashion by field interviewing, revised back translation, additional field interviewing with the revised questions, and so forth in the following sequence:

1. The original questionnaires (modified and expanded versions of Coleman's 1961 instruments) were translated into Danish, then another translator independently translated this Danish version back into English.

2. Original and retranslated English versions were then compared and discrepancies clarified and corrected.

3. A second Danish version was then pretested in interviews with individual adolescents, with probes used to assess the meaning of the questions to them.

4. Based upon this pretest information, the Danish questionnaire was again revised and then back translated, this time into English and then once again into Danish.

5. Field interviewing in small groups then constituted the next trial phase.

6. A final back translation was performed.

In these successive cycles of translation, back translation, individual field testing, additional back translation, group field testing, and so forth, the "back translation" steps attempted to reach linguistic equivalence in English and Danish, while the interspersed field interviewing attempted to approach conceptual equivalence in the meaning of the questions. We believe that combining the two procedures of back translation and field testing in an iterative sequence is considerably more powerful than either device used singly in establishing at least an approximation to both linguistic and conceptual equivalence. Although this process was not entirely successful in our research (see Chapter 3 for those words and meanings which we believe now are of doubtful equivalence), the procedure -- despite its cumbersome and time-demanding requirements -- provides a useful approach to solving the most difficult problem of establishing both linguistic and conceptual equivalence.

Despite the great cost in energy and time required by these iterative cycles of back translation and field interviewing, they are not only crucial methodologically, but the discrepancies in meaning uncovered can yield valuable substantive ideas. For example, such discrepancies can suggest that a concept is more salient in one culture than another or even that it is absent in one (Deutscher, 1968).

It was during the iterative process of back translation and field interviewing in Denmark that we discovered that most Danish adolescents failed to understand the question about exchanging roles with peers which was mentioned earlier. Their total absence of comprehension -- their failure to perceive the meaning of exchanging one's identity even to fill the role of another peer -- provided the first clue to the critical role of independence and autonomy in Danish adolescents. This observation received substantial support and elaboration from the later data analyses despite the necessary omission of the specific question on exchanging roles.

C. Sampling: Comparability and Representativness:

1. Compromising between Comparability and Representativeness:

Extensive attention (e.g., Cochran, 1963; Kish, 1965) has been given to obtaining representative samples in survey research. To the extent that the researcher wishes to generalize to the population of a particular society, these refined sampling techniques for drawing and obtaining representativeness are directly applicable. But cross-cultural research demands more than this: both representativeness within a society and comparability among societies are required. To establish representativeness and comparability simultaneously often forces the researcher to make compromises and to sacrifice rigor and precision. These compromises often are so severe that sampling in cross-cultural research cannot approach the precision displayed in sampling for other research purposes. Researchers in cross-cultural work seem aware of these limitations -- although they are apparently impotent to correct them -- and state such qualifications as

> Generalizations would have to be limited to 'teachers in the areas sampled.' In France and Germany there is both arbitrary geographic restriction and relatively high sample loss. The sample can be described, strictly, as a 'partial sample of teachers in some areas.'

> It is a reproducible sample, but it is not representative of the teachers in these two countries ... When comparative analysis is presented, findings cannot be generalized to 'teachers in these countries,' but must be qualified as proposed above. (Jacobson, 1954, p. 44)

In the present cross-cultural research, different sampling questions arose successively in the selection of the number and types of societies, the schools and teachers, and the adolescents and their parents. (The decision on each of these questions in the present study is noted in Chapter 3.) Following the selection of the participating societies, judgements are demanded in the selection of institutions (e.g., schools) and subjects (e.g., adolescents, their parents, and their teachers) to arrive at representative samples within a society: geographic region and size of school; age, sex, social class (occupation, education, characteristics of housing and neighborhood) often appear as criteria. However, the next step of assuring comparability of the representative samples has almost always demanded compromises in cross-cultural research.

A simple example from the present study illustrates the difficulty in achieving both intra-culture representativeness and inter-culture comparability. To obtain representative samples of adolescents from "secondary" schools in America, students of mean age 16.4 were selected; to obtain representative samples of adolescents from comparable "secondary" schools in Denmark, students of mean age 16.0 were included. Here we achieved both representativeness within each society and comparability between societies in the educational levels of the students, sacrificing some comparability between societies in the age of the students. The departure from comparability can be described with precision; however, correcting for this non-comparability in the data analysis and interpretation raises complex problems.

2. Sample Loss and Non-Respondent Bias:

In cross-cultural research, a large gulf exists between adequate definition of representative and comparable samples and the actual execution of the proposed sampling plan. One frequent consequence is a differential sample loss or non-response rate in the societies sampled. Even when the absolute non-response rate is the same in the societies compared, the researcher must protect against differential non-response bias, i.e., different sub-samples may be contributing to the sample loss in each society, and equal non-response rates thus may result in different non-response biases. These considerations are crucial where refusal rates are high and variable, as often is the case in cross-cultural research (cf., Hill, 1962).

Therefore, careful estimation of non-response bias in each society is required. Detailed techniques exist for estimating such bias within any sample (e.g., Hendricks, 1956; Mosteller, in press) but in cross-cultural research it is the degree of differential bias among societies that must be assessed. When laboratory research estimates differences between experimental and control groups, the hopeful expectation often is held that non-response bias operates in the same direction and in nearly the same amount in both groups, i.e., that the non-response biases cancel. In cross-cultural research, this assumption usually is implausible, demanding that strong efforts be made to reduce non-response rate to its lowest possible level and to estimate the differential size and direction of non-response biases remaining in the societies compared.

D. Extraneous Variables: Comparability of Control over Extraneous Influences

Much as we never expect to establish comparative sampling in cross-cultural research which is both perfectly comparable and representative, we cannot expect to control all the extraneous influences affecting comparative data. What we can hope to achieve is the specification and control of those extraneous variables which represent the major plausible alternative hypotheses rivaling our hypothesis of cross-cultural differences. Certain alternative interpretations to real cross-cultural differences reside in inter-culture differences in age, sex, and social class characteristics of the samples, differences which are controlled physically through sampling procedures. Control of other extraneous influences upon cross-cultural data -- for example, differential failure of communication between experimenter and subject -- depends primarily upon the adequacy of solutions to the measurement problems specified earlier. Even with adequate sampling and measurement, however, still other extraneous variables remain; a partial list follows:

1. Test-taking Familiarity:

American subjects of almost every age have considerable exposure to tests, interviews, polls, and surveys. Although members of other societies have experienced these procedures, they often are not as common or routine. Differential familiarity in test-taking may be reflected in many ways, for example: in differences in comprehension of instructions and the questions themselves, in the ability to to sustain pressures or anxiety created by the procedure, and so forth. A fundamental problem is that the exact effects of unfamiliarity are not known and thus control cannot be exercised. Certainly, the researcher must be aware that a subject to whom tests or interviews are unfamiliar or totally alien may assign very different meanings to the research situation than the investigator intends or than subjects in another culture assign to it.

2. Status Differences Between Interviewer and Subject:

Another source of extraneous influence upon comparative data is the bias introduced by different status characteristics of experimenters and respondents (e.g., Hudson, Barakat, and LaForge, 1965; Mitchell, 1965). Many studies in the United States (cf., Hyman *et al*., 1954; Anastasi, 1958) have indicated the strong effects introduced by differences between interviewers and respondents in social class, cultural, or educational backgrounds. In countries with even sharper and better defined status and authority cleavages, considerably greater bias may be expected. Once again, the degree of bias is important, but even more crucial is the likelihood that differential degrees of bias in societies compared will result from differential status cleavages between interviewers and respondents.

3. Social-desirability Set:

Numerous studies (e.g., Edwards and Walsh, 1964; Crowne and Marlowe, 1964) have identified strong tendencies in subjects to say and do the "proper" thing -- to give the "socially-desirable" answer regardless of the content of the question. This tendency clearly interacts with differences in status between interviewer and respondent, with the respondent's desire to appear in a favorable light increasing with greater status differences (Back, Hill, Stychos, 1956). Once again, it is the differential operation of social-desirability set in different cultures which will contaminate cross-cultural research; if different degrees are operating in cultures compared, systematic data distortion will occur.

4. "Courtesy" or "Hospitality" Bias:

Related in turn to both inverviewer bias and social-desirability set is, "courtesy" or "hospitality" bias which operates when a respondent provides the information which he believes will please the experimenter. The ubiquitous Asian value of "courtesy" (e.g., Jones, 1963; Mitchell, 1965) operates, to unknown degrees, in other societies as well. This value of courtesy defines the information-giving situation in such a manner which has large potential for distorting supposedly comparable data. From the perspective of the respondent, it is a cultural obligation to see to it that the researcher is not distressed, disappointed, or offended in any way, and the respondent adjusts his responses accordingly. Unknown or differential degrees of "courtesy" bias among the societies compared represents systematic and uncontrolled extraneous influences upon the data.

5. Willingness to Express Certainty by Choosing Extreme Alternatives:

Foshay, Thorndike, Hotyat, and Pidgeon (1962) report clear cross-cultural differences in the tendency to "... be too assured or too cautious on these items." (p. 40) These differences in the willingness to select extreme options represent additional extraneous variance in cross-cultural research, and when the societies compared differ on this characteristic, systematic distortion is introduced.

The formidable interference produced by these and other extraneous variables has led to various suggestions for their control or assessment. If these extraneous variables can not be physically or statistically controlled, "supplementary variation" procedures are proposed (Campbell, D.T., 1967) to study their impacts and compare them to the magnitude of the observed cross-cultural differences. If, for example, the cross-cultural researcher despairs of controlling certain procedural irregularities, he is advised to conduct separate, supplementary studies to judge the magnitude of impact of these irregularities, then comparing this magnitude to the size of the observed cross-cultural differences. More precise specification of the sources of extraneous variation must be achieved before any of these devices -- physical or statistical control, or supplementary studies of systematic variation -- can be applied successfully.

E. Procedures: Comparability of Research Operations

1. Securing Permissions:

The necessary steps for securing the cooperation of authorities, school officials, and individual respondents appear to differ widely in different societies (Hill, 1962; Sussman, 1966). Not only are full discussions with the authorities and professionals in each society invaluable for clarifying the conceptualization of the research, but they also are necessary if clear understanding of the terms of the permissions, once given, are to be shared by the researcher and the participants. It is at the stage of securing cooperation and access that comparability of conditions across societies must be kept clearly in mind.

2

2. Availability of Research Personnel:

In many sections of the world, there now is greater availability of trained research personnel -- at least for purposes of data collection, if not planning, data analysis, and interpretation. Collaborators obviously are required for several research functions. We have already mentioned the importance of locating collaborators during the earliest conceptualization stage of cross-cultural research in order to consider the feasibility of attacking a particular research question in each society. Of course, trained research personnel clearly are essential in data collection. It is difficult to assure equal training, experience, and competence of the research personnel in each society compared, but the researcher should be aware of its desirability.

A danger exists in establishing research collaboration if the initiator of the research brings greater sophistication in research conceptualization, design, and methodology than the collaborators in the host countries. There is an occasional tendency to overwhelm the host researchers into accepting inappropriate research issues and methodologies.

3. Understanding Local Conditions:

Societies vary widely in the ease with which researchers can educate themselves in local conditions and mores. This varies partly with the general atmosphere of openness and welcome in the society. One manifestation of this issue occurred in our efforts to understand local Danish conditions and constitutes a contrast to experiences often reported informally by researchers in the schools in America.

American school authorities often display the need to communicate their superiority in practical experience and sophistication to the "academic" researcher, indicating that the nuances of school activities and children's characteristics can be revealed only to the educational practitioner. This need often creates a subtle opposition between school practitioner and researcher, in which each defends his area of expertness. This circumstance did not prevail in Denmark, and its absence greatly facilitated our efforts to understand local conditions. In our preliminary trial discussions and interviews, the first forms of the questions used contained many reflections of our misunderstandings or ignorance. The Danish informants often informed us courteously of our misunderstandings in these questions, but also almost without exception chose to answer and elaborate the portion of the question that did make sense to them. This reaction, of course, allows the researcher to progress to a next formulation of the question which contains a somewhat higher quotient of sense and to build successively a better knowledge of the cultural conditions in which he is working.

4. Identification of Sponsors and the Comparative Purposes of the Study:

There are clear risks in indicating that a comparative research project is sponsored and financed by members of another society. In our case, there were allusions by respondents that the research staff -- both Americans and Danes -- were forcing an American-style research project upon them, forcing them to make "brutal," unqualified judgements in order to respond to our questions.

Although most published research does reveal the country and institution sponsoring and financing the research, some investigators (e.g., Hudson, Barakat, and LaForge, 1959) have considered it critical not to reveal the comparative orientation of the research:

> If for example, the comparative orientation of the research had been known to the respondents, instead of speaking as students, they might have organized their responses as Egyptians *vis a vis* Iraqiis, or Americans.

Comparative researchers have not yet accumulated the experience necessary to resolve this question, settling it on an individual *ad hoc* basis for each society. Again, questions of comparability must be raised.

5. Maintaining Anonymity:

Anonymity has been discussed as a crucial condition in survey research in general and in cross-cultural research in particular (e.g., Hudson, Barakat, LaForge, 1959) Especially when several respondents are known to each other, the guarantee of anonymity is essential. In the present research, the adolescent, his peers, parents, and school authorities were all known to each other. Assurance of anonymity was a necessary precondition; difficulties arose when respondents questioned the good faith or capability of the researchers to maintain this anonymity.

While the assurance of anonymity often is necessary, it is reported that in certain countries (e.g., Japan) respondents tend to treat lightly studies in which they are told that responses will be anonymous because they believe such studies can have little importance (Japanese Sociological Society, 1956).

6. Timing of Data Collection:

Data collection is preferably completed during the same period of time in each society. Yet even the same period of time may have different meanings in different societies. The researcher again must consider the comparability of meaning that even equivalent time periods possess.

7. Handling Complaints:

This issue returns to the first question raised in this section, the securing of permissions to conduct the research. If firm permissions are obtained, and if the authorities are fully informed in advance about every phase of the research process, even well-publicized occasional complaints (often based on the claim of invasion of personal privacy) can be met without disruption to the total research. Again, social scientists have not accumulated the necessary experience to formulate precise advice here, but certainly fully-informed cooperating authorities are essential.

F. Data Analysis:

1. Comparison of Marginal Distributions or of Cross Tabulations:

The nature of the research questions asked will dictate the data analysis required: comparison of marginal distributions or the cross tabulations between variables are two common forms of analysis.

Most cross-cultural observations represent single-order differences between cultures in which differences in the marginal distributions of items are examined. Such analyses often speak directly to the research questions of how the samples of each society differ in attitudes, values, or opinions -- how the samples differ on any single dependent variable. However, these single-variable comparisons are especially susceptible to the vagaries of sampling and the linguistic and conceptual non-comparability of items discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, inspection of comparative marginal frequencies -- while often most pertinent to the research question and the most direct level of data analysis -- forces several ambiguities in interpretation.

Somewhat less susceptible to ambiguous interpretation are comparisons of the relative degrees of relationship among dependent variables in the societies sampled. For example, such comparisons of degree of association allows each society to occupy different scale positions on a particular item, emphasizing the relative scale positions on several dependent variables no matter what absolute scale position is occupied. In these cross-tabulation analyses of relationships among variables, third-variable analyses are performed for purposes of explaining two-variable relationships, often leading to a specification of the boundaries within which functional relationships do and do not operate. Comparisons among societies in the relative degrees of association among dependent variables have been expanded and elaborated through factor analytic techniques (e.g., Driver, 1961).

Some cross-cultural researchers have compared the results of marginal-distribution and cross-tabulation analyses:

> Evidence is accumulating that there are some areas of personality dynamics which ultimately may be classed as universals (e.g., Whiting and Child, 1953). In these studies it is evident that, whereas frequencies of expressed attitudes may imply gulfs between cultures, the correlational patterns indicate significant similarities. (Hudson, Barakat, and LaForge, 1959, p. 12)

2. Comparability in Mechanical Data Analysis Operations:

Many difficulties arise in standardizing data-analysis procedures in each culture when processing of data is conducted in each culture separately. For example, many studies resemble ours in requiring the use of coders who speak the native language in order to code data accurately. Assuring uniform coding procedures in each society requires extensive and extremely detailed communication between research groups and since this communication must be continuous, at least during the early phases of arriving at uniform coding procedures, coordination conducted at a distance becomes cumbersome. Almost every step of data analysis -- especially if computer analysis involving card punching and program writing is used -- contains the danger of introducing inadvertent non-comparability.

G. Data Interpretation:

In discussing measurement problems in cross-cultural research, we noted the difficulties in maintaining comparability in asking questions, i.e., in maintaining equivalence in stimuli presented. Here, we note the problems of comparability in listening to the responses and in assigning psychological and sociological meaning to them.

We return to the topic with which our discussion of problems in cross-cultural research began: the bias and narrowness of the "culture-bound" researcher whose experiences and theoretical background have been limited to a single culture. Almost all cross-cultural research reports inevitably contain the cultural biases in interpretation introduced by the differing vocabulary, theoretical predisposition, experience, and audience addressed by the culture-bound researcher. Much as inter-judge reliability in measurement is applied routinely in research, cross-cultural research should employ routinely inter-interpreter reliability in drawing generalizations from cross-cultural data. This is one reason why comparable data analysis procedures must be achieved, even though the task is enormously laborious. When the same body of data is interpreted independently by researchers in each society included, some assessment of the cross-cultural reliability of interpretation may be achieved.

Summary:

We have attempted to outline the major values and problems apparent in cross-cultural research. This organization was presented for two reasons: (1) to provide a general orientation for the assessment of current cross-cultural research and the planning of future cross-cultural studies, (2) to provide a framework for the discussion in the following chapter of the specific methodology of the current study.

While advantages and problems specific to cross-cultural research have been explored here the critical challenge in cross-cultural work is shared with other types of research. Investigators in any field have problems knowing what information they want, knowing what information they can get, and knowing how to get it. In cross-cultural research, the gulf is enormous between knowing on the one hand what you want and on the other, what you can get and how to get it. Cross-cultural studies -- perhaps more than any other research approach puts the researcher to the challenge of reducing this gulf.

Chapter 3

Method

Data were collected in Spring, 1965, from the following sources:

- high school students in three American schools (N=2347) and 12 Danish secondary schools (N=1552) through the use of structured questionnaires administered in a classroom situation. All the students present the day of questionnaire administration were included in the sample (see Table 3-6).
- the students' mothers (United States, N=2157; Denmark, N=1423) who responded to a mailed self-administered structured questionnaire containing many questions identical to those included in the student's instrument (see Table 3-8).
- school principals at each school who were interviewed and were also asked to fill out a form about the general characteristics and facilities of the school.

Self-administered questionnaires also were distributed to the teachers in each school. However, since few Danish teachers returned questionnaires, no teachers' data are presented in this report (see Table 3-7).

This chapter examines several issues relevant to the methodology of the study:

I. Choice of the contrasting societies of the United States and Denmark

II. Selection of schools within each country

III. Response rates and, in particular, the characteristics of respondent and nonrespondent mothers

IV. Procedures involved in developing matched dyads and triads among adolescents, their mothers, and their best-school-friends

V. Development of comparable questionnaires for both countries

VI. Use of selected statistical procedures

I. The Contrasting Societies:

A. The Choice of the United States and Denmark:

The choice of the United States and Denmark as the societies to be compared was based upon combined theoretical, methodological, and practical considerations. From a theoretical view, Chapter 2 discussed the values of cross-cultural research in exploring the degree to which generalizations operate transculturally or only within the boundaries of a particular society or set of environmental conditions. Cultural conditions in the United States and Denmark are sufficiently different on many dimensions that variations in the characteristics of the adolescent subcultures could be expected. Yet, at the same time, there is sufficient similarity on certain major dimensions to permit the methodological control of important extraneous variables, such as general standard of living and the comprehensiveness of the school systems attended by the adolescents in each country. Finally, practical considerations operated in the choice of contrasting societies, such as familiarity with the Danish culture and its language, and access to professional Danish colleagues and the administrative permissions necessary to expedite the conduct of the research.

Thus, we concluded that American and Danish societies are (1) sufficiently different to provide contrasting experimental conditions and permit the testing of the boundaries of generalizations about adolescent subcultures, and yet (2) sufficiently similar to permit the control of several massive extraneous variables. Areas of relative similarity are:

1. General economic conditions: Both countries have comparatively high standards of living, many occupational opportunities, low unemployment rates, and a full range of business, industry, manufacturing, and agriculture. In Denmark there are fewer people who are either very rich or very poor than in the United States, but average economic conditions are comparable.

2. Range of residential categories: Both countries provide a mixture of large urban, small urban, suburban, and rural communities.

3. Climate: Although Denmark is considerably further north in latitude than the United States, the Gulf Stream creates moderate climatic conditions comparable to average conditions in the United States.

4. Literacy: Denmark enjoys almost universal literacy, the United States only slightly less.

5. Comprehensiveness of the school systems: Within recent decades (and especially through the 1958 issuance of the Primary Education Amendment Act and the Grammar Schools Act), Denmark moved clearly and strongly away from a system of "educational elites" to a comprehensive public educational system resembling that of the United States. Compulsory education began in Denmark 150 years ago, and now extends through age 14. Present data indicate that as many as 70%

> (Hansen and Jacobsen, 1966) to 80% (Connery, 1966) continue education beyond the compulsory age of 14, and even among 19- and 20-year-olds 45% of men and 25% of women continue to pursue further education. Although the structures and organizations of public education in Denmark and America are not identical (certain contrasts are described later in this section), the many similarities were accentuated by the 1958 issuance of the Danish Education Acts which even more firmly established the existing concept of comprehensive public education. In addition, the role of private education is comparable in the two countries and drains off about the same proportion of students from the public schools.

A further methodological control was inherent in the choice of the United States and Denmark as contrasting societies. In both countries, responding to research materials which include the asking and answering of questions is not alien behavior. Although refusals to participate and sporadic protests on the grounds of privacy invasion appeared, the cultural climates in both countries at least tolerate requests to complete research materials.

Despite these general similarities, several essential differences remain. The political systems are somewhat different, with Denmark showing a stronger emphasis upon social welfare than the United States. The Danish population is less mobile geographically and socially. Perhaps most marked is the difference in size of the two countries; Denmark is no larger than 41 of the 50 American states. In population density, however, the countries are more comparable: in the states we sampled in America, average population densities correspond roughly to the Danish (in 1963, 390 persons per square mile). Although these differences in political systems, mobility, and especially size thus were not controlled, the primary control of the extraneous variables of standard of living and comprehensiveness of the school systems were decisive in the selection of contrasting societies.

The practical circumstances governing the choice of the United States and Denmark resemble the finding reported by Useem and Grimshaw (1966) in a survey of sociologists conducting comparative studies: that "adventitious circumstances" typify the basis for selection of a foreign society for study. Certainly there were some elements of adventitiousness in the selection of Denmark for inclusion in the present study: the cooperation of the Danish Ministry of Education in authorizing the study, availability of professional Danish colleagues, access to numerous Danish informants about the society in general and its adolescents in particular, the helpful participation of many Danish school authorities, and the Danes' familiarity and general acceptance of the idea of data collection for socially-useful purposes. These practical considerations supplemented the theoretical and methodological grounds for selecting the United States and Denmark.

Thus, theoretical, methodological, and practical conditions govern the choice of the United States and Denmark as two contrasting societies. In cross-cultural research, the choice of a particular number of comparative societies also is at issue: we chose two; other studies chose six (e.g., Peck, 1965; Hess, 1965), ten (Sussman, 1966), or as many as twelve societies (Husen, 1967). Given the complexities and ambiguities of cross-cultural research in general (and especially on the topic of adolescent subcultures), we decided that progressive, cumulative approximations to cross-cultural understanding should start with the analysis of only two contrasting societies. The base of empirical information then could be used to dictate the selection of particular additional societies to extend the cross-cultural analysis of adolescent subcultures.

B. A Descriptive Note on Denmark:

Dixon (1965) concisely describes Denmark:

> (the country)...consists of the peninsula of Jutland and about five hundred islands, of which about one hundred are inhabited. The Jutland peninsula has an area of 11,575 square miles and the Islands have an area of about 5,000 square miles... The maritime climate, with an annual mean temperature of 45° F, is more favourable than that of many other regions in the same latitudes... Anyone who has lived in northeast England or eastern Scotland would find himself very much at home.
>
> The land...is not particularly fertile... In West Jutland, the poor sandy soil has been improved by impressive reclamation work... The main Islands, Funen and Zealand, are comparatively flat and much more fertile. The comment has been made, and it gives a clue to much of life in Denmark, that the land "does not give the farmers something for nothing"... (Yet) nearly the whole area is in productive use, three-quarters of it in farms.

The total population of Denmark in 1965 was 4,665,000, approximately 2,200,000 described as "urban" and 2,465,000 as "rural" (Dixon, 1965). Several descriptions of Denmark (e.g., Thrane, 1958; Nellemann, 1964) suggest a more homogeneous population than in the United States. There are few very rich, for example, and few who are below the poverty line. The same might be said for education; a smaller proportion than in the United States progress to the university, but at the same time literacy is universal.

The age limit of 14 for compulsory school attendance is lower in Denmark than in the United States. As a result, a smaller proportion of the total population of adolescents aged 15 and over are in school in Denmark than in the United States (see Table 3-1). Thus, high

TABLE 3-1

Percentage of Adolescents in School at Different Ages, in the United States and Denmark

	Age						
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
UNITED STATES[1]	97	95	93	86	76	51	33
DENMARK[2,3]	94	77	53	32	12	7	2

---

[1] From Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1965. (Data for 1960).

[2] From Skole-klasse-, elev-statistik 1964/1965, Ministry of Education, Copenhagen, May 1965. Includes students who are in 6th-10th grade, 1st-3rd *real*, or 1st-3rd year of *gymnasium*.

[3] The Danish figures do not include the large numbers of older students (15 and older) who attend vocational or commercial programs; when these forms of education are added, 45% of 19 year old Danish men and 25% of 19 year old Danish women are continuing education actively.

school students in the United States can be considered somewhat more representative of the total adolescent population in the country than the comparable group of in-school Danish adolescents.

C. American and Danish School Systems:

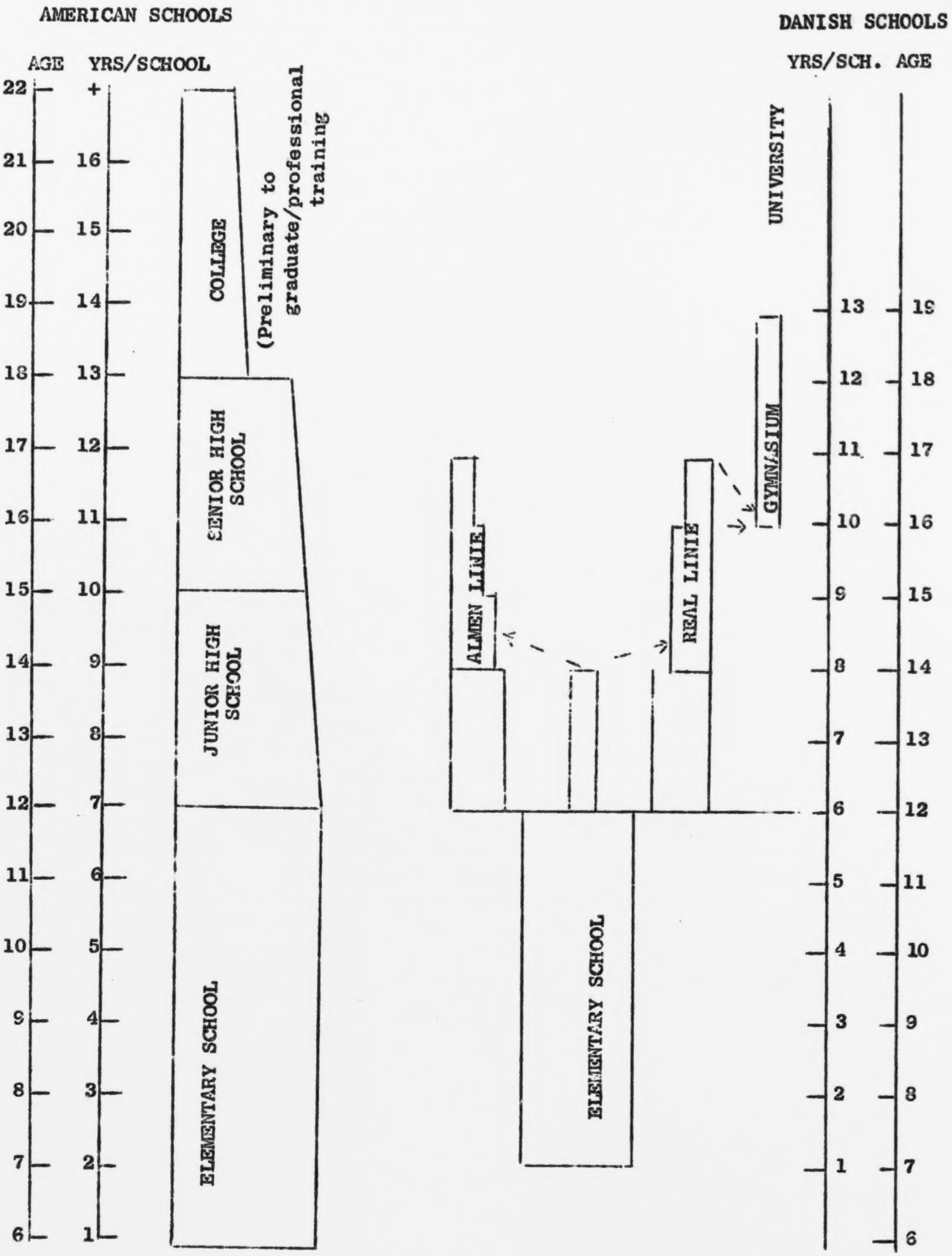
The American school system may be described as a main line with side tracks. The main line ordinarily takes the student through eight years of elementary education, four years of high school, and then four years of college. These sixteen years of education may be divided in different ways among elementary school, junior high, senior high, and junior or regular college--but the sixteen-year track to a B.A. is the recognized way of completing an education. Students leave the track at different points. Some go beyond the B.A.; more stop before getting there, and move into the labor market with a year of college, or a high school diploma, or only a year or two of high school. Rather few American students turn off this main line to enter, for example, a technical apprenticeship as an artist, a technician, or a craftsman. Even those who attend vocational schools may be seen as following the same system, though with a different content in their studies. (Some vocational schools provide college entrance tracks, just as do the academic high schools.) In almost the same way, post-high-school technical schools (art schools, for example), may be seen as parallel alternatives to college courses. So even the side tracks tend to be assimilated, in the way they are viewed, to the main line of sixteen years of schooling.

The Danish system is different (see Figure 3-1). The Danish children are not required to begin school until they are seven years old. They are permitted to leave after seven years of schooling, but most of them (70-80%) remain after the age of fourteen. Most schools begin to divide the children after fifth grade according to their interests and abilities, as judged by teachers and parents. (Figure 3-1 shows that some schools postpone the separation until the end of the seventh grade.) After that time, one part of the student body will attend almen line, stressing basic training and preparation for later vocational and community life. Another part will attend real line, stressing academic studies and preparing for real eksamen, which admits the students to many kinds of office or business jobs, or to gymnasium, where they prepare for university study or for other schools on that academic level. The years in the almen or real line may be considered years of secondary-school work, though ordinarily adolescents in Denmark enter the real or almen lines somewhat earlier than adolescents in America enter high school. The gymnasium is the advanced part of the secondary school. It is roughly equivalent to our junior college, and the university in Denmark roughly equivalent to the last two years of college and graduate or professional schools.

By and large, Danish secondary-school students are a year, or slightly less, younger than their American counterparts in the equivalent grade. This happens because the Danish system offers one year less of primary education.

Figure 3-1

DIAGRAM OF DANISH AND AMERICAN AGE-GRADE SYSTEMS FOR MOST SCHOOLS


AMERICAN SCHOOLS
AGE
YRS/SCHOOL
22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6
+ 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
COLLEGE
(Preliminary to graduate/professional training
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
DANISH SCHOOLS
YRS/SCH.
AGE
UNIVERSITY
GYMNASIUM
ALMEN LINIE
REAL LINIE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6

Throughout his years of schooling, the Danish child studies all subjects with the same classmates. A student in I real, for example, will be in the same classroom with his I real fellow students every day for every period until he graduates. There is no homeroom class, as the students are in their homeroom constantly, so to speak. This often means that the class works very much as a unit and tends to do things together, being less likely to become involved with other students in the school. Even in the younger grades, the students are exposed to several teachers and are not under the supervision of just a single person. In the older grades they normally have a class teacher who teaches one or two subjects, and this teacher remains with the class until graduation. It is customary for a subject teacher to teach the same class of students during all their years in school. In some Danish regions, students leave the school in their community to attend a regional real school. In most regions, students remain in the same school throughout their pre-gymnasium careers. Thus, the Danish students have more opportunity than American students to get to know one another well. The Danish students, who go through school in cohorts smaller than their American counterparts (though, as we shall note, their classes may be the same size or even larger) also spend more years together, since they do not shift schools between the elementary and the high school grades, in most cases. (An exception is students in our two district or regional real schools.) In addition, they spend more time together during the school day, because they do not follow individually-tailored schedules as do American students. In all, Danish students could be expected to know each other better, and experience much stronger group formation, than do Americans. In certain respects, as we shall show, this is not so.

II. The Schools:

A. The Selection of Schools:

Our aim in sampling was to select a group of Danish and American schools at the secondary level which generally would be comparable to each other and which at the same time (so far as possible) would represent the range of school characteristics found in each country. Because we intended to secure information from all students on the secondary-school level in the selected schools (and from their teachers and parents), we limited severely the number of schools studied. In order of priority, our concerns were to achieve: (a) comparability between the Danish and American samples; (b) maximizing the range of variation of schools within each country.

The range of variation among Danish schools is smaller than the range among American schools. This parallels--indeed expresses--the greater homogeneity of the Danish society, compared with the American. Denmark has less of the sharp regional contrasts which characterize America: the differences in life style to be found in Appalachia and New York or, even within the same city, between the slums, the apartment-house districts, the quiet neighborhoods, and the suburbs. We decided, therefore, first to develop a sample of Danish schools which would represent the variety of schools in that country, and then to match it with a sample of American schools.

To study the atmosphere of the Danish school, and its implications for students, we selected several representatives of each school type. That is, instead of relying for our information regarding students in rural schools in Denmark on responses from only one school, we obtained responses from several. We relied, therefore, on replication of representative schools for each type to guard against idiosyncratic school characteristics. This replication was particularly important because of the generally small size of the Danish schools; increasing the number of schools was necessary in order to have an adequate total population of students. In the American sample, on the other hand, fewer schools were used because we were ourselves sufficiently familiar with the school system to recognize idiosyncratic school characteristics; we could compare our results in significant areas with those of other American high schools (e.g., Coleman, 1961), and, finally, because the size of American schools tends to be large, we could with a small sample of schools obtain a large enough sample of students. Thus, we sampled a total of 12 Danish schools and 3 American schools. In Denmark, we sampled 7 rural schools, 1 regional school in a rural setting, and 4 schools in an urban setting. In the United States, we sampled one school of each type: rural, regional, and urban.

It should be emphasized that the aim of our study was not to contrast schools, but to contrast adolescents, and we sampled schools only as a means of obtaining samples of adolescents. We did not try to develop representative samples of either schools or adolescents within either country, but rather to develop samples which would make evident the range of variation among adolescents in Denmark and, to the extent this remained possible after developing a sample comparable to the Danish, in America. It should be noted that our approach, because it tries to make the American sample comparable to the Danish sample in type of school attended, reduces the range of variation within the American sample. We did not try to represent adolescents from the very wealthy suburbs, or from the impoverished slums, or from any of the other areas which would find no match in our Danish sample, and, therefore, have underrepresented the true variety of American perspectives. Nevertheless, even with the very small number of American schools, we attempted to represent the majority of American adolescents and the main line of the American adolescent perspective.

B. The Danish Schools:

School statistics compiled by the Danish National Institute of Educational Research and the Danish Ministry of Education permitted the selection of 12 Danish schools, representing a variety of regions, school sizes, years of operation, and teacher qualifications. The primary distinction among Danish schools is in the region they serve, ranging from the heavily-urbanized districts of Copenhagen to sparsely-populated fishing villages on outlying islands. Related to region are other characteristics, such as the size of the school, the size of the classes, the number and qualifications of faculty, and the age of the school. The more urbanized the school, by and large, the bigger the school and the greater the number of facilities provided.

We selected twelve Danish schools for study, eight of which represent the schools in the less-urbanized districts, and four of which might represent the schools in metropolitan areas. Among the eight schools in farming or fishing districts, two were *real*[2] schools, offering the *real* line to those who had completed their first seven years in any of the other schools of the district. Two were schools in districts which had *real* schools and thus offered only the *almen* line. in secondary-school work. The remaining four rural schools offered all classes, *almen* and *real*, as did the four urban schools. The characteristics of the Danish schools sampled in terms of size, community population and degree of urbanization are presented in Table 3-2.

In the rural Danish schools, the number of students of high school age is fairly small by American standards. The largest rural school studied, School 56 (a regional *real* school) contained 208 students. Most fathers of students in the rural schools engage in farming. A large proportion of the fathers in School 58 are employed in fishing. Rural Schools 60 and 61 are located in the Danish-German border area.

Danish school buildings in the rural areas are not too different from American school buildings. Some are newly built, two or three of them the one-story red brick and design glass which has been adopted by many smaller American schools. The older buildings are less attractive (again resembling older American schools) and have sometimes become crowded as enrollments have increased.

There are more students for each teacher in these rural Danish schools than in the smaller American schools, fewer than in the larger. Taking these schools as a group, the ratio varies between 22:1 and 25:1 or slightly more. Principals of two of the rural Danish schools reported that they were understaffed.

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[1] After the School Law of 1948, reorganizing education, a number of districts pooled their efforts to establish regional schools which could provide teaching and facilities impossible for the districts to afford by themselves. For example, School 56 is a *real* school serving 10 communities and drawing its students from 18-20 surrounding schools. Each community provides a portion of the cost; deficits are made up by the state.

TABLE 3-2

Characteristics of Danish Schools in the Study

School Number	Total Number Students in School	Number of Students in Real or Almen Lines	Population of District or City	Percent in Major Occupation
1. Rural Schools[1]				
a. Comprehensive				
50	340	69	2,000	33%
53	425	114	2,500	51%
57	300	73	1,700	52%
58	1050	201	4,200	35%
b. Almen				
55	520	59	3,000	22%
61	230	23	2,700	29%
c. Real				
60	146	146	2,700	34%
2. Regional Schools[1]				
a. Real				
56	208	208	--	29%
3. Urban Schools[2]				
a. Comprehensive				
51	565	226	1,344,609	18%
52	590	99	1,344,609	64%
54	1350	172	111,145	51%
59	1134	248	85,860	35%

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[1] Last column gives percent of fathers in farming or fishing.

[2] Last column gives percent of fathers in blue collar occupations.

There are many fewer extracurricular activities in these rural schools than in comparable American schools. There are no interscholastic athletics, and school-sponsored athletic teams are unknown, let alone such auxiliary organizations as cheerleading groups. The school provides opportunities for participation in both team games and individual athletic activities and may also sponsor sports days during which students exhibit their skills for each other, but there is no opportunity for school representation in these activities. The school is likely to arrange trips abroad for the oldest students--"abroad" being much closer to home in Denmark than in America. There are apt to be youth clubs for evening get-togethers, theatre groups, perhaps film groups. There is no equivalent for the American school newspaper or school yearbook.

The "school inspector" may have a great deal of influence on the life of the school. There is no role in the American system exactly equivalent to that of the Danish school inspector--imagine a combination superintendent of schools and school principal who functions also in part as an accrediting agency. The school inspector is responsible both for day-to-day administration as well as long-range school policy. In one rural district, for example, the school inspector believed it advisable for students to finish the third real before going on to gymnasium. (As indicated in Figure 3-1, students can and often do elect to take their real eksamen after the second real.) The result is that in his jurisdiction few students go on from the second real, although it is characteristic of Danish permissiveness that the inspector's judgment does not in all cases prevail.

Of the four urban schools, School 51 is situated in a high social class area; Schools 54 and 59 in what are considered mixed areas; and School 52 is a poorer area of Copenhagen. Perhaps coincidentally, only one of the schools still uses its original buildings, now eighty years old, without the addition of new space or important new facilities: the school in the poorest district. There is at present need for additional classrooms. The existent classrooms are dark and bear evidence of years of rough treatment. The playground outside is itself small and dark. Most of the space between the buildings and surrounding buildings is taken up by bicycle sheds. Both School 54 and 59 are situated in mixed, developing areas, the former in a rapidly-expanding section of Aalborg, the fourth largest city of Denmark, and the latter in a central district of Odense, the third largest city of Denmark. The oldest buildings in the latter school were built about forty years ago, but new buildings were added within the past ten years. The school has adequate surrounding space. The number of students registered in School 59 doubled between 1956 and 1958. Even with the rebuilding there is now insufficient space and a new school is planned for the district.

School 51, in an attractive section of Copenhagen, was renovated within the last twenty years to provide additional laboratories and classroom space. There is a good library in the school.

The student-teacher ratio in these schools ranges from 18:1 to 25:1, just as in the rural schools. In the schools with the higher student-teacher ratios there is a sense of being understaffed. Teachers commonly work overtime, in some cases as much as ten hours a week, though they are compensated for this and may define overtime as a blessing rather than a burden.

These schools have both the advantages and the penalties of urban density. They are able to offer more in extracurricular activities than the rural schools: two schools support a school newspaper, there is a student council in one of the schools, plays are likely to be given by dramatics groups, and in other respects as well, such as special attention to students of particular talent or particular difficulty, these schools approach closer the diversity of extracurricular activities offered by American schools. But at the same time discipline problems are reported more frequently than in the rural Danish schools, although the rate is low by American standards.

To summarize, Danish schools differ from American schools in several ways. One is the extent to which students move together through the school system; except for the districts where the real line is given in a regional district school, Danish students may accompany one another all through their seven or eight years of elementary school and three years in the real or almen line. Second is the place of extracurricular activities in the school. Although the Danish urban schools come closer to the American model, even they do not approach the American emphasis on athletics as a cohering experience for the student body. In addition, the secondary-school population of the Danish schools, by and large, is smaller than high school populations of the matching American schools and the students are slightly younger.

C. The American Schools:

Three American schools were chosen to constitute a comparison sample for the Danish schools: School 30 as a match for the Danish rural schools, School 31 for the regional school, and School 32 as a match for the Danish urban schools. Although these three schools hardly represent a cross-section of American secondary education, the differences among them serve to locate some part of the range of variation to be found in American schools: as much of that range as can be matched against the range within the Danish schools.

The three schools differ first in size: School 30 is a small school with 185 students; School 31 is larger (though still small by American standards) with 520 students; School 32 is a large school with a student body numbering over 2,000. Other studies have shown that size alone is an important factor in determination of the quality of life within the school. Teachers are more accessible and better known in the smaller schools, social groupings are more cohesive; everyone is more likely to be known by others (Barker and Gump, 1964).

After size, the most important difference among the three schools is in locale (see Table 3-3). School 30 draws on a predominantly rural region, although few of the students come from farming families. Most of the fathers, and some of the mothers as well, work in small or medium-sized manufacturing concerns within commuting range of their homes, which have chosen a rural location because of access to inexpensive power, transportation, or labor. School 31 primarily draws on residents of three small towns, each concerned with both manufacture and the dairying and apple-growing agriculture common in New England. School 32 is located in a large city district marked by low-income housing, industry, and commercial enterprise. Average family income within the school district was $4,969 in 1960, the population was about three-quarters white, one-quarter Negro. Of the whites, about one-third were foreign-born.

The schools also represent a range of parental education. In School 31, over half the fathers and over two-thirds of the mothers have graduated from high school, over a quarter of each graduated from college; this is well above the national average for the parental age group. Parents of students in School 30 are slightly above the national average in educational attainment. School 32 is located in a district in which only one-third of the adults have any high school at all; parents of students in the school seem to have done somewhat better than the average of their district, but still are below the national average.

Schools 30 and 31 are located in rural New England; School 32 in one of the large cities along the Eastern seaboard. None of the three draws its students from an especially affluent population, although incomes of parents in School 31 are, taken together, a good deal above the national average. In geography, size, and wealth, the American schools cannot serve as a basis for generalization to the American scene at large. But, since our aim is primarily to compare and contrast American and Danish adolescent subcultures, the comparability of the American and Danish schools is the overriding consideration. It would not be possible to identify a Danish school of the size and affluence of the large suburban high school which Coleman (1961) named Executive Heights.

We present below vignettes of each school. The data come from a variety of sources: Interviews with principals of the high schools, statistical data about the community, comments written by parents at the end of their questionnaires, informal observations made by the study staff.

Rural School 30 is tiny, about ten rooms, solidly built in colonial style, complete with cupola and portico, standing in a country setting surrounded by trees and grass. Rooms are small and dark, filled with rows of heavy wooden desks attached to the floor. As one enters the

TABLE 3-3

Characteristics of American Schools in the Study

School Number	Total Number Students in School	Population of District or City	Percent Blue Collar
1. Rural School			
School 30	205	2,500	76%
2. Regional School			
School 31	510	8,000	50%
3. Urban School			
School 32	1895	939,024	77%

front door, the principal's office is visible on the left, a science classroom heavily draped with charts and maps on the right, two other classrooms down the hall, and a stairway to the second floor on the other end. An annex to the main building houses the new, brightly-varnished gymnasium. Six grades meet in the building, although only grades 9-12 are included in our study. Classes are small: 18 to 20 students on the average. There are sixteen teachers on the faculty, of whom seven are men. There is no tenure for teachers.

As estimated by the principal, fewer than 10% of the graduates go on to a four-year college, the smallest percentage, by far, among the three schools, and only an additional 5% go on to a junior college. Extracurricular activities at the school are limited: orchestra and glee club, national honor society, yearbook, a few interest groups such as the chess club, but no newspaper, intramural sports, or social clubs. There are active chapters of the 4-H Club, the Boy Scouts, and the Future Teachers of America associated with the school.

Comments from the parents in the parents' questionnaire often refer to the friendliness and personal attention possible in this small school:

> The encouragement and understanding manner of teachers and headmaster contribute a great deal towards stimulating the mediocre student to work to capacity and excel in fields of interest. Discipline at the school is excellent, and the students with whom I am acquainted respect the teachers and headmaster very much. In contrast to large overcrowded schools we have known, the staff has a much needed personal contact with the teenagers in their charge.

Despite the positive aspects of personal association, however, some parents feel that the school provides poor academic facilities relative to larger, more metropolitan schools. In contrast to the mother who writes that the teachers "inspire the children to learn and the children look up to them," a local elementary school teacher (also a parent) comments:

> The school has too small an enrollment to make possible grouping by ability. Consequently I feel really bright children are not challenged, and seldom do we have students who enter and complete a college education successfully. I think the fact that such a small percentage actually complete a college education is indicative of something badly wrong. I feel students are being short-changed education-wise.

Many of the citizens of this region have grandparents who are Finnish or French Canadian; the headmaster himself was born of Finnish parents. According to students' reports, virtually all of the fathers (94%) and mothers (92%) were born in the United States; however, in the previous generation, approximately 17% and 11% of maternal grandparents and about 21% and 13% of the paternal grandparents were born in Finland and Canada, respectively.

The regional School 31 is a one-story rambling building, located on gently-sloping, well-landscaped grounds. The wings of the school project from either side of the main glassed entrance, between which and the street stands a slender roofed arcade. Inside, rooms are colorful and airy, furnished with movable chairs, each with writing arm, and with colorful posters on the cinderblock walls. Partitions separate the cafeteria area from the rest of a large open space in the center of the school. The science labs are spotless (perhaps not unquestionably a recommendation), brightly lit and well equipped. Behind the main building is a separate small building housing the vocational training equipment.

The school offers work in grades 9 through 12. Classes are fairly small: the average class numbers about 22 students. Approximately 60% of the students follow a college preparatory program, while the remainder divide themselves about equally into commercial and vocational tracks. There are special, separate classes for slow learners as well as for the exceptionally gifted and talented. According to the principal and a number of parents, primary attention seems to be directed toward the academically-oriented student. There is a good deal of homework. Special work is available in all courses for "superior" students, some of whom have qualified for advanced placement in college. Bright students are permitted to accelerate their graduation by taking summer school courses or extra work during the year. In 1964 about 45% of the graduates went on to college.

There is a good deal of opportunity for extracurricular activity. The school competes with other schools in a number of sports. Prominently displayed inside the main door is a large trophy case filled with footballs from significant games, and perhaps a dozen sparkling trophies for hockey, softball, football, wrestling, and track. Equal emphasis is given non-athletic activities: band, newspaper, and the other possibilities.

There are 34 full-time teachers at the school, a teacher-student ratio of about 1:15. All faculty have had graduate training in the subject-matter areas they teach. Eighty percent of them are men. Tenure is automatic after a time in the system. The school has taken part in studies of experimental curricula in math, science, and non-science, and has developed its own special curriculum for non-science areas. Teaching machines are now being used regularly by some students. In general, the school is aggressively concerned with achieving quality as an educational institution.

According to some parents, the school imposes unduly strict and petty regulations on its students. For others, strict discipline is highly desirable for socializing impressionable teenagers. Advocating more leniency, one mother wrote:

> I do not think the atmosphere is a good one. I think it is one that tends to make children rebel rather than open their minds to learning... There should be more emphasis on the *joys* of learning the arts and sciences and less on unimportant rules such as no riding bicycles to school, girls can't wear hats inside the building, no coca-cola with lunch brought from home, no one can eat another's bread at lunch, etc. I do feel it important to maintain good discipline and rules of neat dress and appearance, but not beyond good common sense...

Another mother, expressing a positive view of the school's firmness wrote:

> I feel that it is a wonderful school because of the rules and regulations; no driving to school for students, etc. Prom night they were all chaperoned by police escort in an automobile caravan to a restaurant and had to be back to school by 1 AM.

Thus, School 31 is a medium-sized regional school, firm and no-nonsense in outlook, dedicated to scholastic achievement, yet furnishing a rich variety of extracurricular activities in addition to an up-to-date academic program.

School 32 spans two city blocks with brick buildings and new additions linked across streets by overhead passageways. The main three-story building dates back to 1927. In 1956 a new office building, gymnasium, and industrial arts division were added to the facilities, totaling three major buildings. The newer buildings are in the same square, functional style as the old; they differ only in that the brick is cleaner. Beside the school on one side is a parking lot and asphalt-covered playground. On the other side are tenements and low-income housing projects.

Inside the school the corridors are long, broad, and often winding, accommodating overhead passageways and ramps. Along the sides run metal lockers, interrupted by heavy wooden doors. Within the rooms, students sit at wooden desks fastened to the floor.

The average class is large: between 33 and 35 students. There are a good many different programs available, ranging from special classes for the mentally retarded and students with reading difficulties to a college preparatory program teaching enriched materials. The school has participated in the development of experimental curricula in all areas. In a few classes teaching machines are used regularly.

There are four main programs: college preparatory, regular academic, vocational, and commercial. Only 10% of the student body is enrolled in the college preparatory track; about 50% are in the commercial track. Need for remedial work is common. According to the principal, in 1965 more than 25% of the students required remedial work in reading or mathematics. About one in six went to summer school to repeat a class. A high proportion (about 25%) of students leave before graduation.

There are several community facilities near the school: library, museums, concerts, theatres, public recreation centers, art galleries, teenage centers. Some may be used by the students, but 30% of the students have part-time jobs outside of school.

The school in 1965 had 93 teachers, less than a 1:20 ratio. About half of these were men, over 10% were new (a high turnover rate). Teachers' qualifications were good: 29 had M.A. degrees, one a Ph.D. All were teaching in their areas of preparation.

The school, with its high dropout and transfer rates, nevertheless, attempts to serve its low-income residential area. (The area, incidentally, is predominantly white; about 17% of students in the school are Negro.) It frankly acknowledges limitations in the ability and ambition of students while offering as practical and helpful a curriculum for skill development as it can.

D. Matching Difficulties:

Despite attempts to match American and Danish schools as closely as possible on ecological and demographic criteria, the resulting samples of American and Danish schools and adolescents differ in ways which reflect inherent differences between the two countries.

Schools cannot be matched in absolute size, because the Danes do not have schools which compare in size to the very large American schools. Thus, the secondary-school students in the largest Danish school in our sample--School 59, located in Aalborg and one of the largest existing Danish schools--number 248. Its size does not approach the size of School 32, the urban school in the American sample, with its enrollment of 1895 students. Similarly, School 30, the smallest school in our American sample has an enrollment of 205 students, comparable to the larger secondary Danish schools.

The Danish students in our sample are slightly younger than the Americans (see Table 3-4). This age difference reflects differences in the educational system in the two countries, discussed earlier in this chapter. Additional differences exist in the distribution of fathers' occupations, reflecting differences in the occupational structure of the two countries. The Danish sample contains a larger proportion of farmers, managers and officials than the American (see Table 3-5).

TABLE 3-4

Age Distribution of Adolescents in American and Danish Samples

Age	UNITED STATES	DENMARK
14 and under	4%	1%
15	18	35
16	29	33
17	30	24
18 and over	18	7
Total N	(2307)	(1552)

Differences between countries significant at .001 level (chi-square test).

TABLE 3-5

Father's Occupations[1] in American and Danish Samples

Father's Occupation	UNITED STATES	DENMARK
Professional, semi-professional, technical	6%	9%
Managers, executives, officials	11	27
Clerical, sales	9	4
Foreman, skilled workers	37	15
Unskilled, laborers	36	20
Farming	1	25
Total N	(1380)	(1092)

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[1] Based on mothers' responses

Differences between countries significant at .001 level (chi-square test).

By contrast, the American sample contains a larger proportion of blue-collar workers than the Danish, reflecting the greater industrialization of the United States and the contribution of the larger urban American school to the total American sample. Thus, differences in the societies do not always permit exact matching of national samples on absolute criteria.

III. Response Rates:

A. Field Procedures and Response Rates:

Initial study design called for the collection and analysis of data from adolescents, mothers and teachers. The data were collected simultaneously in the United States and Denmark in the Spring of 1965. The Danish data were collected by a team composed of an American principal investigator and several Danish colleagues, working with social scientists from the Danish National Institute of Educational Research.

In both countries, student questionnaires were administered to all students present during one school day. The largest absentee rate observed in any one school was 13%; most often, it was much lower (see Table 3-6). Thus, our student data represent nearly the total population of the high schools sampled.

When the research team visited the school, questionnaires were distributed to teachers with the request that the completed questionnaires be returned by mail. However, the return rate among the Danish teachers was so low (see Table 3-7) that the plan to analyze the teachers' data was abandoned.

The data from the mothers were collected by means of mailed, self-administered questionnaires. Because of administrative requirements set by the schools selected, slightly different procedures were followed in different schools. For all Danish schools and two of the three American schools, all parents' names and addresses were obtained from official school lists. In these schools, questionnaires were mailed to the mothers of all the students in the school, whether or not the student himself had filled out a questionnaire. Existing state regulations against the disclosure of students' home addresses made it impossible to follow this procedure in American School #32, the largest in the sample. Therefore, at the time of the questionnaire administration, each student in this school was given his questionnaire together with a large envelope and was asked to write his mother's name and address on it. The envelopes were subsequently alphabetized. We compiled our own incomplete school list that included only the students present on the day the questionnaires were administered. Only in a few instances were the addresses illegible or incomplete.

TABLE 3-6

Absentee Rates among Adolescents in American and Danish Schools

School Identification Number	Number of Students Enrolled	Number of Students in Sample	Percent of Absentees
United States			
School 30	205	185	10
School 31	510	479	6
School 32	1895	1663	12
Denmark			
School 50	69	67	3
School 51	226	197	13
School 52	99	94	5
School 53	114	111	3
School 54	172	159	8
School 55	59	58	2
School 56	208	203	2
School 57	73	69	5
School 58	201	191	5
School 59	248	235	5
School 60	146	145	1
School 61	23	23	-

TABLE 3-7

Teacher Questionnaires Returned in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES				DENMARK
	School 30	School 31	School 32	Total Sample	Total Sample
Number of questionnaires distributed	16	34	93	143	229
Number of questionnaires returned	16	27	84	127	69
Percent of teacher questionnaires returned	100%	79%	90%	89%	30%

Many of the items in the mother instrument were specific to the high school child sampled. To ensure that the mother's responses would refer only to that child, but not to burden the mothers with more than one high school adolescent with more than one questionnaire, mothers with more than one child in the school sampled were sent only one questionnaire and were instructed to answer all questions for the oldest child attending that school. The identification number stamped on the mother's questionnaire was identical to the number assigned her child. In the United States, the mother questionnaires were mailed within two weeks of the student questionnaire administration; in Denmark, within one week. In both countries, first and second reminder letters were mailed subsequently at two-week intervals when returns began to decline.

Data on the total number of mother questionnaires mailed and returned appear in Table 3-8. In the three American schools, the percent of mothers returning their questionnaires vary between 66% and 71%; in the twelve Danish schools, the percentages vary between 64% and 84%. These return rates are quite high[1] but perhaps not surprising for a questionnaire mailed, under official sponsorship, to an adult population which may be assumed to have great interest in the subject under investigation.

B. Comparison of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers:

Respondents to mailed questionnaires generally are found to differ from non-respondents in education and interest in the subject under inquiry (Parten, 1960; Reeder, 1960: Suchman and McCandless, 1940)[2]. Since our study focused upon children and aspects of family life, it is possible that responding mothers felt closest to their children and had most positive relationships with them, thereby creating a bias in the types of families represented in our sample. Indeed, in a study of response bias among college graduates responding to mailed questionnaires five years after graduation, respondents came from families which the students had described earlier as stable and happy, in which both parents were reported to be happy and to be in agreement about most issues, in which the children reported good relationships with their parents, and in which discipline tended to be of a verbal type (Vincent, 1964).

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[1] See, for instance, the statement by Moser (1963) that "If the sample is of the general population, rather than of a special group, strenuous efforts are usually needed to bring the response rate above 30 or 40 percent."

[2] However, Vincent (1964) reports that when examined by educational and occupational levels, the respondent group contained an excess of high educational and both high and low occupational levels. "The existence of similar disparate socioeconomic groupings among non-respondents in previous studies may have been obscured by a focus on comparisons between rather than on distributions within respondent and non-respondent groups."

TABLE 3-8

Mother Questionnaires Mailed and Returned in the United States and Denmark, by School

	School I.D. Number			
UNITED STATES	30	31	32	Total Sample
Number of students who completed questionnaire	185	479	1663	2327
Number of mother's questionnaires mailed[1]	159	413	1499	2071
Number of mother's questionnaires returned	113	273	1021	1407
Percent of mother's questionnaires returned of all those sent	71%	66%	68%	68%

DENMARK	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	Total Sample
Number of students who completed questionnaire	67	197	94	111	159	58	203	69	191	235	145	23	1552
Number of mother's questionnaires mailed[1]	61	184	91	105	156	56	190	64	179	224	136	22	1468
Number of mother's questionnaires returned	51	130	58	79	115	40	159	52	127	162	111	14	1098
Percent of mother's questionnaires returned of all those sent	84%	71%	64%	75%	74%	72%	84%	81%	71%	72%	82%	64%	75%

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[1] With the exception of School 32, questionnaires were mailed to the parents of all students in the school whether or not the student attended school the day student questionnaires were administered. In School 32, questionnaires were mailed only to the mothers of the students in the sample. In all American and Danish schools, mothers with more than one child in school were sent only one questionnaire and asked to answer for the oldest child in the high school.

The design of our study provides an unusual opportunity to investigate the response bias in our sample of mothers, since the student samples provide information on the entire parent population that was sampled.[1] To investigate response bias in the sample of mothers, the characteristics of respondent and non-respondent mothers were compared on the basis of their children's responses.

The comparison was carried out in three areas: social background characteristics, patterns of family interaction, and the family's educational concerns. There is little response bias along these dimensions, but rather a striking similarity between respondent and non-respondent mothers in the first two areas in the United States and Denmark, and some difference in the third area in the United States.

Sociodemographic variables are presented in Table 3-9. There is no difference between respondent and non-respondent mothers in the socioeconomic status of their families, as measured by family income or mother's education. In Denmark, however, respondents are more likely than non-respondents to have a husband with a white-collar occupation. Except for this last result, these data do not replicate the general finding that the response rate to mailed questionnaires is lower among persons of low than of high socioeconomic status. Interest in children and families may be very high in all social strata and, therefore, leads mothers, irrespective of their education, to complete their questionnaires.

One background factor shows a slight effect on the return rate in both countries, namely, whether or not the mother works. Working mothers are somewhat less likely to respond than non-working mothers, probably because they are too busy. There is also a very slight trend in both countries for respondents to be less mobile geographically than non-respondents and to have lived in their present community more than ten years. Geographical stability may be associated with greater participation in community activities, and greater interest in school affairs, which may lead these mothers also to answer more readily a questionnaire about their children. But each of these effects, even when they appear, are very small. The similarity between respondent and non-respondent mothers appears also with respect to patterns of family interactions,[2]

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[1] Some mothers returned their questionnaires after having blacked out the identification number. However, there are altogether very few questionnaires from mothers who could not be matched to a child in the sample: 27 in the United States, 8 in Denmark.

[2] The meaning of the family variables will be described in detail in Chapter 7.

TABLE 3-9

Social Background Characteristics as Reported by the Adolescent, of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Non-Resp.	Respondent	Non-Resp.	Respondent
Percent with high family income (U.S. = $10,000+; Den. = 3,000+ kr.)	19	21	20	18
Total N	(329)	(533)	(244)	(601)
Percent of mothers with low education (U.S. = grade school only; Den. = elementary only)	34	36	71	72
Total N	(724)	(1097)	(350)	(894)
Husband's occupation				
Farmer	1	1	17	23
Blue collar	72	73	39	25
White collar	27	26	44	52
Total N	(783)	(1171)	(433)	(1070)
Percent intact families	64	66	86	88
Total N	(947)	(1380)	(460)	(1092)
Percent who have lived in their town more than 10 years	62	67	73	77
Total N	(696)	(1047)	(404)	(956)
Percent of mothers who work	53	48	42	35
Total N	(839)	(1236)	(429)	(1070)

Passes 135, 137.

as reported by the children (see Table 3-10). There are only small differences between the two groups in the warmth or closeness between parent and child, thus, no difference appears with respect to maternal authority pattern, amount of communication between parent and adolescent, degree of closeness or adolescent's desire to be like his mother. Neither are there differences in the adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' attitudes toward their friends or in the extent to which the adolescents are peer- rather than parent-oriented. The one difference in family pattern between respondent and non-respondent mothers appears in Denmark with respect to parental disagreement: adolescents with non-responding mothers report greater parental friction than adolescents with mothers who responded.[1]

The one area in which consistent, although small, differences appear, and only in the United States, is that of the family's interest and concern with the adolescent's education. Data on educational variables are presented in Table 3-11. In the United States, respondent mothers belong to families in which the mothers themselves as well as their husbands encourage their adolescents to pursue their education, in which the mothers pressure their children to do well academically, in which the parents are more involved in school affairs, in which the adolescents themselves have higher educational aspirations than in the group of non-responding mothers (see Table 3-11). With the exception of attendance at PTA meetings, these differences are much reduced in the Danish sample.

Thus, only small differences appear between respondent and non-respondent mothers on the large majority of variables on which they were compared: mother's education, family income, patterns of mother-adolescent relationships, mother's attitude toward the adolescent's friends. Two consistent differences are observed in both countries: mothers who responded are more active in the school PTA and are less likely to work out of the home. In addition, in the United States, respondent mothers are more interested in the child's present and future education. In Denmark, mothers who responded are more likely to have husbands in white-collar occupations and to disagree less frequently with their spouses than non-responding mothers.

These results, of course, are based on the adolescents' rather than the mothers' answers. But, given the positive association between answers given by members of matched mother-adolescent pairs,[2] similar findings

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[1] This is the only finding which replicates those obtained by Vincent (1964) who found that college students who responded to his follow-up questionnaire five years after graduation had reported earlier less frequent parental arguments than those who did not respond.

[2] Concordance between adolescents' and mothers' reports of family socio-demographic characteristics and interactional patterns is discussed in Chapter 8.

TABLE 3-10

Family Relationships of Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers, as Reported by the Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Non-Resp.	Respondent	Non-Resp.	Respondent
Maternal authority pattern				
Authoritarian	46	43	18	15
Democratic	35	40	58	62
Permissive	19	17	24	24
Total N	(781)	(1165)	(428)	(1052)
Percent of mothers who always explain decisions	28	30	41	44
Total N	(773)	(1157)	(424)	(1039)
Percent of adolescents who enjoy doing quite a few or many things with mothers	68	72	75	75
Total N	(777)	(1150)	(430)	(1044)
Percent who talk most problems over with mother	39	42	54	52
Total N	(776)	(1149)	(436)	(1050)
Percent who want to be like mother in most ways	45	43	35	31
Total N	(769)	(1147)	(434)	(1046)
Percent who feel extremely close to mother	30	33	22	23
Total N	(764)	(1143)	(432)	(1046)

TABLE 3-10(continued)

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Non-Resp.	Respondent	Non-Resp.	Respondent
Child's index of reliance on mother	2.40	2.77	2.43	2.64
Total N	(882)	(1295)	(451)	(1080)
Child's index of reliance on friends	2.08	1.91	2.45	2.77
Total N	(882)	(1295)	(451)	(1080)
Percent of parents who approve child's school friends very much	45	47	50	54
Total N	(758)	(1138)	(389)	(947)
Percent of parents who disagree sometimes or frequently	46	47	31	24
Total N	(802)	(1185)	(427)	(1039)

Passes 135, 137

TABLE 3-11

Family Educational Concern Among Respondent and Non-Respondent Mothers, as Reported by the Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Non-Resp.	Respondent	Non-Resp.	Respondent
Percent of mothers who strongly encourage higher education	37	45	7	8
Total N	(823)	(1211)	(456)	(1083)
Percent of fathers who strongly encourage higher education	36	41	7	8
Total N	(763)	(1118)	(454)	(1075)
Percent of mothers who put "much pressure" on their child to do well in schoolwork	47	52	24	18
Total N	(883)	(1305)	(425)	(1042)
Percent of children continuing their education	60	67	15	18
Total N	(823)	(1211)	(456)	(1083)
Percent of parents who attend PTA regularly	13	18	29	37
Total N	(933)	(1366)	(453)	(1082)

Pass 135

probably would have appeared had we obtained data from the entire population of mothers. We conclude, therefore, that no strong non-respondent bias is likely to have been introduced in our analyses.

IV. The Samples of Dyads and Triads:

The analysis of concordance between the adolescent and his mother and the adolescent and his best friend required that samples of dyads and triads be identified. The dyads were composed of adolescent-mother and adolescent-best-school-friend pairs.

A. Adolescent-Mother Dyads:

The matching of adolescent and mother pairs was easily accomplished, since both adolescents and mothers from the same family had been assigned the same identification number. Matching was done in all instances in which the mother returned her questionnaire, except in 27 cases in the United States and 8 in Denmark, where the mother had erased the identification number on her questionnaire or where the child had been absent from school on the testing day. The exact number of total adolescent-mother pairs and of dyads from intact families appear in Table 3-12. Because of the higher response rate of Danish than of American mothers (75% *versus* 68%, see Table 3-8), adolescent-mother pairs were matched in a higher percentage of instances in Denmark than in the United States (Table 3-12). Thus, dyads exist for 70% of the Danish student sample compared with 59% in the United States.

B. Adolescent-Best-School-Friend Dyads:

The student's best-school-friend was identified by a question which asked for the names of the three same-sex adolescents the student went "around with most often" in school (Qx. 472). The adolescent was asked to list the names in order of decreasing closeness. The first-mentioned name was taken to be that of the closest friend in school. Most students mentioned at least one friend: 88% did in the United States and 91% in Denmark. Since the names were restricted to friends within the school and since all the students in the school were sampled, the friend named was in the sample unless absent the day of questionnaire administration.

Each adolescent's record was matched with that of his best-school-friend, forming the basic sample of adolescent-best-friend dyads, and including all such dyads regardless of whether or not there was a mother match. Also determined was whether the friendship choice was reciprocated.

As shown by Table 3-12 a best friend could be identified for over 90% of the adolescents in both the American and Danish samples. Even in School 32, which had one of the highest absentee rates (12%) of any school, 88% of the first-named best friend was in our sample, suggesting that students who are absent from school tend to associate with each other. The proportion of friendship choices which were reciprocated is considerably higher in Denmark (57%) than in the United States (43%).

TABLE 3-12

Samples of Dyads and Triads in the United States and Denmark

Samples	UNITED STATES N	UNITED STATES Percent of Total Sample	DENMARK N	DENMARK Percent of Total Sample
Total sample of adolescents	2327	100	1552	100
Matched student - best-school-friend pairs - DYADS	2157	93	1423	92
Matched student - best-school-friend pairs - reciprocated choices	923	43[1]	813	57[1]
Matched student - mother pairs - DYADS	1380	59	1092	70
Matched student - mother pairs from intact families - DYADS	1141	49	977	63
Matched student - best-school-friend - mother TRIADS	1254	53	990	64
Matched student - best-school-friend - mother (intact families) TRIADS	1065	46	905	58

Pass 194B, 194D

[1] Percentage based on number of student - best-school-friend pairs and not on total sample.

C. Adolescent-Mother-Best-School-Friend Triads:

When best-school-friends were matched with the adolescents, triads were identified, composed of the adolescent, his mother and his best friend in school. The basic triads on which the concordance analyses are based consist of all the adolescents from intact families who could be matched to both their mother and their best-school-friends. Given the higher response rate of Danish mothers as compared to the American, the subsample of Danish triads contains a larger proportion of the original student sample (58%) than the American (46%) (see Table 3-12).

V. The Questionnaires:

A. Nature of the Instrument:

Data from respondents were collected through self-administered, structured questionnaires, designed so that many identical items appeared in the student, mother, and teacher versions. (The instruments appear in Appendix E.) Since no analysis is reported for the teachers, the teacher questionnaire will be discussed no further.

The following topics were covered:

	Adolescent Questionnaire	Mother Questionnaire
a. Background characteristics	yes	yes
b. Values and attitudes	yes	yes
c. Future educational and occupational goals for the adolescent	yes	yes
d. Patterns of family interaction	yes	yes
e. Adolescent's behaviors and activities	yes	---
f. Adolescent's sociometric patterns	yes	---
g. The high school (leading crowd, criteria for popularity, etc.)	yes	---

Most of the items in sections (f) and (g) were developed by Coleman in The Adolescent Society (1961). Most of the family items in section (d) were from Bowerman and Elder (1964) and from an on-going study by Bowerman (personal communication). In all cases, questions were revised to fit the purposes of this study and to make them suitable for cross-cultural use.

Chapter 2 described in some detail the procedures followed in translating the questionnaire items from English to Danish (and from Danish to English), in pretesting, and in ensuring that the questions asked, which had initially been developed in the United States, would be relevant to the Danes. We attempted, as far as possible, to have identical forms of the questions in both countries, even if it sometimes meant including an alternative which was not expected to have as much relevance to one group as to the other.

This procedure led to some unanticipated findings. Thus, the original questions on what it takes to be important and looked up to by other students in the school (Coleman's questions 143-148, our student questions 55-61) provided for six alternatives. We modified one of these alternatives and also added a seventh, "Someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings," in order to provide a dimension of intimacy which pretesting identified as a very important component of friendship and popularity among Danish adolescents. This alternative, originally included for the benefit of the Danes, then was ranked as more important than any other by the Americans as well as by the Danes.

In certain instances, country differences precluded the use of identical questions. Thus, questions about educational plans had to be organized somewhat differently in the American and Danish versions of the questionnaires. For the Danes, the questions about higher education include both vocational and academic alternatives, while in the American version only college is included, reflecting the greater importance of vocational and commercial forms of advanced education in Denmark. Because of their unfamiliarity with the quartile ranking system, the Danes were asked to give their school marks in terms of their system of numerical grades. Several questions ask about "extracurricular activities:" in the Danish version, "leader in extracurricular activities" was translated as "leader in clubs, organizations, etc." No single Danish word has the same usage as the English "personality," forcing the translation of "pleasant personality" as "be friendly and obliging." As the above examples indicate, compromises in meaning were sometimes necessary in order to retain conceptual comparability.

B. Reliability of the Danish Questionnaire:

In the Spring of 1965 interviews were conducted with 40 Danish students, from two to three months after they had completed the group-administered questionnaire. There were 18 girls and 22 boys interviewed: 10 students from 8th grade in School 54, 10 students from I real and 20 students from II real in School 56. Consistency of response was assessed, but the interview procedure permitted additional probing. Interviews were structured with the questionnaire as a guide. The items were reordered and grouped into content areas. The questions were asked in an open-ended form and subsequently coded following the format used in coding questionnaire responses.

This particular discussion will deal only with those items on the questionnaire which are interval-scaled (33% of all items). (Items that are not interval-scaled, including ranking questions, occupational classifications, and questions with dichotomous alternatives were omitted.) Interval-scaled items then were grouped into four categories: 5 items on background characteristics, 42 on values and attitudes, 29 on the family, and 19 on behaviors and activities. The 29 family items were subdivided into those which deal with both parents (11), with the mother only (9), and with the father only (9).

Reliability was measured by the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Table 3-13 is a summary of the range and medians of the product-moment correlations for the four groups of items. Background characteristics (4 of 5 coefficients significant beyond .05 level) and behavior and activity items (15 of 19 significant) show substantial reliability, family items (19 of 29 significant) somewhat poorer reliability, and value and attitude items (12 of 42 significant) quite poor reliability. Within the family items, there is higher reliability for the father items (8 of 9 significant), followed by both parent items (6 of 11 significant), and mother items (5 of 9 significant). The large majority of the items concerning background, behavior and activities, and family were statistically significant (38 of 53), but the value and attitude items showed poor reliability (12 of 42). Thus, with increasing objectivity of the items there is better reliability. Also, considerably better reliability exists for those family items dealing with the father than for those dealing with the mother.

These results are somewhat tentative. Such reliability data is available for only forty Danish students. Measures for the entire questionnaire are not presented here. Nevertheless, the results are consistent with other studies of reliability of questionnaire items and provide some information on the items themselves.

VI. Statistical Procedures:

A. Multivariate Analysis of Attribute Data:

In our multivariate tables, Coleman's "effect parameters" were used to estimate the effect of one or more independent variables on a dependent variable. The model underlying Coleman's statistic is analogous to a factorial design in analysis of variance for quantitative data (Coleman, 1964; McDill and Coleman, 1965; McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966). The statistic requires that the dependent variable be dichotomous. In the simplest case, the statistic is computed by taking the difference between the proportions positive on the dependent attribute under conditions of presence and absence of a dichotomous independent attribute. The model can also be extended to independent attributes with three or more classes, either ordered or unordered. Coleman has devised a technique to adjust the effect of an ordered, polytomous attribute to make it comparable to a dichotomous one (Coleman, 1964). In all cases, weighting procedures can be carried out to weight each difference according to the size of the sample on which it is based. Boyle modified slightly the weighting procedure devised by Coleman (McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966). The weighted estimates presented in this report were calculated with a computer program, incorporating Boyle's modification of Coleman's original model and written by James Coleman.

TABLE 3-13

Summary of Reliability Coefficients[1]

Type and Number of Items	Pearson product-moment correlation (N = 40)
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS (5)	
Range	.11 to 1.00
Median	.69
VALUES & ATTITUDES (42)	
Range	-.12 to .73
Median	.20
THE FAMILY (29)	
Range	-.15 to .72
Median	.45
Both Parents (11)	
Range	-.01 to .65
Median	.39
Mother (9)	
Range	-.15 to .63
Median	.33
Father (9)	
Range	.15 to .72
Median	.60
BEHAVIORS & ACTIVITIES (19)	
Range	.11 to .80
Median	.41

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[1] With N = 40, r of .31, $p < .05$

B. The Measurement of Concordance:

The difficulties involved in measuring concordance between two individuals on an item are discussed in detail in Appendix B. No existing statistics are truly satisfactory, since none gives a measure that takes into account simultaneously the absolute amount of observed agreement and the amount of observed agreement that deviates from what would be expected by chance on the basis of the marginal distributions.[1] As a compromise, and for the reasons given in Appendix B, Kendall's (1962) tau-beta was selected as the measure of concordance. Tau-beta is a correlation coefficient designed for variables represented by ordinal scales but need not have equal intervals nor an absolute zero point.

C. Tests of Significance:

Chi-square was used as a test of significance in multivariate tables. The tables indicate whether the differences were computed within countries or across countries. A table to evaluate rapidly the significance between two percentages is presented in Appendix C. The table is based on a ratio that is evaluated by use of a t-distribution and can be used to determine the significance of differences between two percentages other than those already estimated through the chi-square method.

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[1] A doctoral dissertation is being prepared by Richard Light (Graduate Student, Department of Statistics, Harvard University) in an effort to develop such a statistic.

Chapter 4

The Meaning of Status in Secondary Schools

The school programs of the United States and Denmark are in fundamental ways alike. In each system there is a progression of classes to which students move, along with others of their age grade. Each system divides the classes into an elementary group and a more advanced group. Each system directs some of its graduates on to further education. The subject matter, the methods of teaching, the idea of examinations which can be passed or failed, are alike in the two settings. The differences, less fundamental, may perhaps express differences in the two societies. The Danish program puts more emphasis on keeping the adolescent in the same group of peers. Should he launch himself on a different trajectory he must choose early and thereafter he will have a new group of peers. The American system, where individuals change schools between the 6th and 7th grade in some areas, between the 9th and 10th in other areas, and where individuals in the same class in the same school will generally have a different scholastic program from each other, may be taken as an expression of a sense that it is more important to develop individual programs each tailored to the interests and capacities of the particular adolescent than to make it possible for the same group of adolescents to stay together through the day and over the years. In this way what may well be a difference in American and Danish outlooks is built into the very organization of student programs.

It is only reasonable to expect that differences in outlook between the American and Danish societies should be expressed in the schools. The schools are manifestly carriers of attitudes and values, socializers of the young, and those who administer them define their task as preparing a new generation to move into positions of responsibility in the society. The schools are not only this, or simply this, of course, nor does the fact that administrators may self-consciously attempt to represent in the schools the best values of their society mean that they are successful in doing so. Indeed, as we have shown in our introductory chapter, one important line of thought among informed observers of the educational scene has been that students set up a "contra-culture": that is, a culture in opposition to that of the teachers, principals, and other adults delegated by the community to represent and transmit community values.

Certainly the students develop a social structure among themselves from much of which adults are excluded. This structure is the aggregate of their interrelations with each other: of the friendship pairs, the groups of friends, the dating relationships, the teams and clubs and informal organizations, which in sum organize student social life.

James Coleman (1961), as we have said in our introduction, has been among the most effective investigators of this student society. On the basis of study of ten schools in the Chicago area Coleman concluded that high school students formed their own society, and that much of their behavior could only be understood by recognizing the importance to them of this social world and its leaders. Thus, Coleman writes in Adolescents and the Schools:

> Adolescents have their own little society, with special symbols and language, special interests and activities. It is a society composed of people who are more adult than child, yet a society of people without responsibilities, a society subject to the demands placed on it by others, that is, by adults... The adult...decides what is good and what is not. Such a situation invites trouble. It encourages leadership that asserts itself against the adult demands. It encourages a status-system among adolescents based on such extra-school activities as dating and sports. In sum it effectively impedes education, keeping the effort expended on learning at a minimum. (p. 12)

Coleman documented the existence and the values of this adolescent society by asking the students directly what behaviors were important to gain esteem and regard from others. He also inferred this system of values and the status system by asking the students to identify those among them who held certain positions of status and prestige, for instance, best athlete, and then examining the values and behaviors of these "elites." He found that athletics for boys and social activities for girls represented the surest path to success.

Coleman considered different types of status positions. He looked at the scholar, the athlete, the leader in activity, the member of the leading crowd, most popular with the opposite sex, being sought after as a friend, being seen as a model by others. He selected these particular statuses on the basis of informal interviews and the previous literature, especially Waller. Waller (1932) had described an adolescent subculture which possessed its own status-assigning system, norms, values, and leading groups. As described by Coleman, membership in the leading crowd is an elite status that has somewhat different meaning from the other presumably desirable statuses.

Coleman believed he could identify in each school a "leading crowd," a group of adolescents looked up to by other students, who formed a social elite, and who acted as leaders in student affairs. Coleman (1961) states that the leading crowd expresses and enforces a certain set of values for the high school society.

> In so far as the leading crowd has gained its position by achievement, thus being open to all who can achieve in the right directions, it stands as a concrete reward for such achievement...just as the values of the community determine the efficacy of various kinds of achievement in gaining a man entry into a country club, the values placed on athletic and scholastic achievement determine their efficacy in gaining a boy entry into the leading crowd in the school. (p. 145)

The assumption is made that the characteristics which gain the student a position in the leading crowd are the ones valued by the school as a whole, and, therefore, the values of the student body are manifested by those qualities in which the members of the leading crowd are outstanding. But there is another reason in addition for singling out the leading crowd as an essential structure within the social system, and that is its direct contribution to the definition of the high school social climate. Members of the leading crowd themselves determine which other students will be accepted and which excluded, and so help determine which values will count for the student body as a whole. They thus function as social arbiters, and decide who is in and who is out. Membership in the leading crowd is thus at once cause and consequence of representation of the value system of the school.

He seems to assume that a leading crowd will occur anywhere, in any social situation, saying in this connection:

> In every school, most students saw a leading crowd, and were willing to say what it took to get in it. It should not be surprising, for every adult community has its leading crowd, although adults are less often in such close and compelling communities. (p. 36)

We may ask if leading crowds exist in the American schools in our sample, which differ considerably from Coleman's Illinois high schools. If leading crowds do exist, are they a phenomenon peculiar to American schools; can they be found in schools in another society, such as Denmark? Is the social structure of the Danish secondary schools like that of American high schools, or in what ways is it different? If a leading crowd is to be found in high schools outside our borders, then we may conclude that it is a consequence of the particular way we have organized our adolescents within our educational institutions. If, on the other hand, we do not find this particular social structure to exist in Denmark, then we are dealing with a peculiarly American phenomenon, and we may ask how did this come about, and what consequences does it have for American adolescents and our society.

The following questions are asked about the status system among adolescents in American and Danish secondary schools:

(1) To what extent is it possible for students in each setting to volunteer names in response to requests to identify peers who are in status positions, that is, adolescents who are athletes, well dressed, scholars, popular with the opposite sex, and members of the leading crowd;

(2) How much agreement or consensus is there on which students occupy these status positions;

(3) To what extent are the same adolescents chosen for the various statuses; and

(4) What are the characteristics of the adolescents chosen as leaders?

I. Methodology:

As was indicated in Chapter 3, the sample for this study was not selected to be representative of the total adolescent population in either country but rather to include schools in different ecological settings. The three American schools can be classified as rural, regional and urban, respectively. For the present analysis we have selected from the thirteen Danish schools those schools which come closest to matching the American schools in ecological setting and occupational distribution.[1] The following groupings were made:

	United States School	Denmark School
Rural	30	50, 53, 55, 57
Regional	31	56
Urban	32	52, 54, 59

The sample sizes for the selected schools were presented in Chapter 3. For every type of school the Danish schools are much smaller than the American schools. Table 4-1 shows the distribution of fathers' occupation for the rural, regional, urban classification. In the schools classified as rural and regional, there are many more fathers in Denmark engaged in farming than in the United States. The occupational distribution for the Danish schools classified as urban is more skewed toward the white collar than is the distribution for the urban school in the United States. The distributions of fathers' occupations in the rural and urban United States schools are similar. However, in Denmark, urban schools have a larger percentage of fathers at the upper end of the occupational distribution than the rural schools. The distribution for the regional school in the United States is about equally split between blue collar and white collar, while the Danish regional school has a distribution resembling that of the Danish urban school. The analysis is done either:

(1) School by school; or

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[1] The Danish schools on the German border, schools 60, 61, 62 were excluded because of possible within country differences. School 51 was excluded from the urban category because the occupational distribution is much higher than that of the urban school in the United States. School 58 was omitted because the primary occupation of the area is fishing.

TABLE 4-1

Father's Occupation by Type of School and Country

Percent of fathers	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Rural	Regional	Urban	Rural	Regional	Urban
Farming	5	2	1	43	28	2
Unskilled, semi-skilled	25	19	38	21	14	27
Skilled	46	29	38	14	14	26
Clerk, sales	4	8	8	1	4	9
Manager, official, owner	12	25	10	17	29	30
Technical, professional	8	17	5	4	11	7
Total N	(170)	(425)	(1369)	(298)	(195)	(467)

(2) By type of ecological school setting; rural, regional, urban. (This involves treating the U.S. schools separately and combining the four Danish rural schools and the three Danish urban schools.); or

(3) By country (combining the three American schools and the eight Danish ones).

The primary goal of the analysis is to compare the two cultures. The different schools or the various groupings of the schools can be viewed as replications of the research within each country.

II. Response Rate on Sociometric Questions:

Coleman used the information provided by nominations of students in elite positions to arrive at a description of adolescent societies and of adolescent status-systems. The response rate to these questions and the consensus of the student body about which students occupy these statuses reflect the clarity with which these status positions are defined. High response rate and high consensus reflect a clearly- and well-defined system, about which everyone in the school agrees.

The students in our sample of American and Danish schools were asked the following questions which are the same as the ones used in The Adolescent Society:

(1) Of all the boys (girls) in your grade, which boy (girl)...

(boys) is the best athlete?
(girls) is the best dressed?

is the best student?

do boys (girls) go for most?

(2) If a boy (girl) came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what boys (girls) should he get to be friends with?

Choices for the first three were restricted to own grade. All choices were restricted to own sex.

Table 4-2 presents the percentage responding on each of these questions. The percentages for the American schools are presented separately since there is systematic variation in percentage responding to each item among the American schools. There is no such variation among the Danish schools, and only the mean percentages, representing all Danish schools together, are given.

As shown in Table 4-2 a greater proportion of Danish boys than American boys name someone for all questions except the leading crowd

TABLE 4-2

Response Rates on Status Criteria by Sex, Type of School (in the United States), and Country

Type of School	Best Athlete	Best Dressed	Best Student		Most Popular with Opposite Sex		Leading Crowd	
	Percentage of adolescents naming someone on status criteria							
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
UNITED STATES								
Rural	81	97	78	93	60	91	73	77
Regional	70	85	69	81	53	74	73	85
Urban	63	76	52	73	45	58	55	62
DENMARK								
Average	87	74	84	86	66	65	50	47

question. The proportion of Danish girls responding is about the same as for American girls, with the same exception of the leading crowd question. American girls are more likely to name someone than American boys. Among the American schools, we see that as the size of the school decreases, an increasing percentage of students respond to each item except the leading crowd question. We also see that in each of the American schools there is greater response when asked to name a best athlete than a best student, and greater response when asked to name a best student than the most popular with the opposite sex.[1] In the American schools, the percent that respond to a question asking for members of the leading crowd compares favorably with that of the more specific characteristics. Except for the leading crowd question, Danish students seem as willing or able as American students to provide names. In the Danish schools slightly less than half the students answered the leading crowd question.

The lower response rate for the leading crowd question seems to indicate that leading crowds, as such, are not a prominent part of the social system of the Danish secondary school. When the students were asked directly how many groups there seemed to be which "more or less ran things" in their school, approximately 40% of the Danish adolescents, as compared to 20% of the American adolescents, replied that there were no such groups. Evidently the Danish students as a whole are not particularly aware of the existence of a leading crowd in their school; or, if they are, they show more reluctance to give an opinion on which fellow students are members of a leading crowd. The majority of American students in our sample, on the other hand, respond that there are one or more leading groups in their school and volunteer names of members.

III. Consensus on Different Ways of Being Outstanding:

When students are asked to choose an individual who is outstanding in some way, there will be a variable amount of agreement among them. Coleman has devised a measure of consensus which compares the degree to which choices focus on one or a few persons with what would be expected if choices were completely random, i.e., if there were no relationship between the choice made by one student and the choice made by another. If there is no agreement among the individuals beyond that which would be expected by chance, Coleman's measure equals 1.00. As the degree of consensus increases and choices begin to cluster around one or a few individuals, Coleman's measure becomes smaller. When all choices are for a single individual, the measure approaches zero. (See Appendix A for further details on this measure.)

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[1] The greater willingness or ability of American girls than boys to answer these questions may reflect more alertness to the social situation, greater investment in social interaction, or more cooperation with the study. We might also conclude that the larger the school, the less likely American students are to know who occupies a position of status; the more achievement is hidden in the anonymity of numbers.

Table 4-3 presents the consensus measures for the four criteria discussed above. One notes that in both the United States and Denmark, the measures in all cases are less than 1.00. This means that some consensus on each of these criteria is the rule. In fact, all but three of the values presented are significant at the .01 level.

Several other observations can be made from Table 4-3. In the American schools there is considerable agreement on all criteria, and almost full consensus in some cases; e.g., membership in the leading crowd among boys and girls in the regional school, best athlete among the boys in the urban school, best student among the boys in the urban and the regional schools, and among the girls in the rural school.

There are no consistent differences in levels of consensus between types of schools. The United States regional school has greater consensus for leading crowd than the other United States schools. The level of consensus in this school is comparable to that which Coleman reported in his sample of American schools.[1] In the Danish schools, there is a good deal of consensus regarding best athlete among the boys, best dressed among the girls, and best student among both boys and girls. However, the level of consensus never attains that of the American schools. In both Danish and American schools there is somewhat less consensus for popularity with the opposite sex than for other attributes.

For membership in the leading crowd, one Danish school shows almost no consensus at all for boys, several other schools show little consensus, and only three schools show a level of consensus comparable with that of the American school with the lowest consensus. In general, there seems to be more consensus in the American schools for each of the criteria about which students were asked; there is much variability among the Danish schools.

The consensus levels in the two countries were compared statistically by taking the ratio between the consensus measures in the American and Danish schools. The consensus measures for the Danish schools were averaged over each school type. A ratio of 1.00 indicates equal consensus in the two countries; ratios larger than 1.00 indicate greater consensus among American than Danish students; ratios less than 1.00 greater consensus among the Danes. Table 4-4 shows dramatically how

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[1] Coleman reports an aggregate figure for consensus on members of the leading crowd of .04 for boys and .02 for girls. In our additional sample of 3 American schools the values of the consensus measures are between .01 and .04 for the leading crowd criterion.

TABLE 4-3

Consensus Measures on Status Criteria, by Sex, Type of School and Country[1]

Type of School	Status Criteria							
	Best Athlete	Best Dressed	Best Student		Most Popular with Opposite Sex		Leading Crowd	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
UNITED STATES								
Rural - School 30	.13	.18	.16	.08	.33	.16	.30	.13
Regional - School 31	.11	.13	.09	.10	.22	.17	.06	.08
Urban - School 32	.09	.20	.08	.18	.29	.27	.11	.21
DENMARK								
Rural - School 50	.28	.30	.38	.23	.36	.34	.27	.36
School 53	.23	.17	.36	.14	.48	.18	.42	.37
School 55	.36	.41	.31	.18	.32	.43	.29	.25
School 57	.36	.17	.42	.25	(.63)	.35	(.94)	.19
Regional-School 56	.21	.20	.37	.15	.33	.46	.41	.28
Urban - School 52	.38	.31	.23	.20	.28	.56	.40	(.69)
School 54	.26	.21	.33	.22	.31	.32	.47	.36
School 59	.27	.30	.26	.18	.38	.31	.23	.22

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[1] Smaller consensus figures indicate greater consensus. All consensus measures presented here show a degree of consensus greater than chance at the .01 level of significance (two-tailed test) except the three values in parentheses.

TABLE 4-4

Comparison of Consensus Measures for the United States and Denmark by use of the F Ratio[1]

	Status Criteria							
Type of School	Best Athlete	Best Dressed	Best Student		Most Popular with Opposite Sex		Leading Crowd	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Rural	2.28**	1.27	2.26**	2.38**	1.26	1.83**	1.26	2.08**
Regional	1.91**	1.54*	4.11**	1.50	1.50	2.71**	6.83**	3.50**
Urban	3.13**	1.29	3.45**	1.10	1.13	1.28	2.94**	1.48**

[1] An F Ratio greater than 1.00 indicates greater consensus among American than among Danish students; less than 1.00 greater consensus among the Danes.

*, ** Significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

much more agreement there is in the American than in the Danish schools about who is outstanding. In every case there is more consensus in the American school than in the Danish school(s) with which it is being compared. In 15 of the 24 cases the ratio reaches statistical significance. The cross-cultural differences are particularly large and consistent with regard to agreement on who are the members of the leading crowd. The degree of consensus on leading crowd, except for rural boys, is always significantly better in the American schools. The cross-cultural difference is particularly strong in the regional schools. For best athlete and best student, American boys consistently show much better agreement than Danish boys in their choices. Perhaps it is not surprising that there is less consensus among Danish boys concerning best athlete since in Denmark there are no organized inter-school competitive athletics as in the United States.

Although the American schools generally are larger than the Danish ones, and, therefore, students might not be expected to know each other as well, there is greater consensus in the American schools than in the Danish.[1] There are several possible explanations for this fact: (1) American schools, more than Danish, may give prominence to outstanding students by the use of visible rewards. Honor rolls point out the good students and athletes are awarded letters. (2) In America, students themselves may be more concerned with rating each other and perhaps through continuing discussion among themselves, may eventually reach agreement on who is outstanding. (3) Finally, because of differences in social structure, certain patterns of behavior may be more visible and more valued in the United States than Denmark. Whatever the cause, it is clear that the status system among secondary school systems is much more developed in the United States than in Denmark.

The greater consensus in the American schools as compared to the Danish appears only in the later grades of secondary schooling. American students in their later grades have much greater consensus than they do in the earlier grades. Table 4-5 compares the degree of consensus between early and late grades (10th grade _vs_. 12th grade for the United States and 8th grade and 1st real _vs_. 10th grade and 3rd real for Denmark) in each country for three choice criteria.[2] In the American schools

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[1] The American-Danish comparison was controlled for age. Only those grades for 15 and 16 year olds were considered. There were no systematic changes in the F ratios, supporting the assertion that the cross-cultural difference is not a function of the age difference in the American and Danish samples.

[2] Choices for members of the leading crowd were not restricted to one's own grade.

TABLE 4-5

Comparison of Consensus Measures in Earlier and Later Grades for the United States and Denmark by use of the F Ratio[1]

	Status Criteria					
Type of School	Best Athlete	Best Dressed	Best Student		Most Popular with Opposite Sex	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
UNITED STATES						
Rural	.39**	1.29	.70	3.91**	.99	1.09
Regional	.59*	.45**	.56*	.35**	.63	1.17
Urban	.27**	.56**	.34**	.67*	1.24	.59**
DENMARK						
Rural	.87	1.58	.83	.99	2.03	.82
Regional	1.09	1.05	1.41	1.82	1.35	.68
Urban	.80	1.07	1.18	.75	1.76	1.73

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[1] An F Ratio greater than 1.00 indicates greater consensus in the earlier grades; less than 1.00 greater consensus in the later grades.

*, ** significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

for best student, best athlete, and best dressed there is better consensus in the later than in the earlier grades, except for girls in the rural school. In all but one instance the ratios for these criteria are statistically significant. By contrast, in the Danish schools there is no significant or consistent cross-grade difference in the level of consensus. In the American twelfth grade, particularly for the boys, there is considerable agreement on who is outstanding. In the later grades captains of athletic teams are chosen and scholarships are awarded; those with special status become more visible to the student body. Such age changes do not occur in the Danish schools. From Tables 4-4 and 4-5 we may conclude that consensus in the American schools starts at a higher level than in the Danish Schools, and increases to still higher levels as time goes on. Within the urban schools, where in the earlier grades there is about as much consensus in the Danish schools as in the American, the increase in level of consensus as the students come to know each other is particularly great. It may well be that this large American school presents students in the earlier grades with so many other students to learn about that the absence of a high level of consensus is not surprising. By the time of the later grades, however, the students in the American urban school have as high a level of consensus as students in other American schools.

We have shown that there is considerable consensus among the American students on who are the members of the leading crowd in the American schools and somewhat lesser agreement among Danish students. Do those who have been named as members of the leading crowd think that they are members of the leading crowd? Table 4-6 shows that in both countries there is a positive relationship between the student's subjective assessment of leading crowd membership and the assessment made by his fellow students. The more choices a student receives the more likely the student is to perceive that he is a member of the leading crowd. It is also interesting to note that there is a relatively large percentage of boys and girls in the United States who receive no choices at all from their fellows who nevertheless believe themselves to be in the leading crowd. This percentage is higher in the United States than in Denmark and suggests how much more important membership in the leading crowd is in the United States as compared to Denmark. Tau-beta[1] was computed as a summary statistic to measure the level of association between the actual membership and perceived membership variables by sex and country. The values of Tau-beta were .293, .298, .298, .302 for United States boys, United States girls, Danish boys,

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[1] Tau-beta reduces to Phi in the 2 by 2 case. A value above .100 is generally considered significant. The variables were dichotomized as follows: actual leader 0-2 mentions versus 3 or more mentions; perceived leader category 1 versus categories 2-5.

TABLE 4-3

Perceived Membership and Actual Membership in Leading Crowd by Sex, Type of School and Country

Percentage of adolescents who perceive they are in leading crowd

	UNITED STATES						DENMARK					
	Rural		Regional		Urban		Rural		Regional		Urban	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
BOYS												
Number of choices as member of leading crowd												
0	39*	(23)	37**	(119)	29**	(341)	28	(51)	11	(45)	10**	(145)
1	32	(20)	40	(52)	37	(218)	29	(34)	33	(12)	29	(48)
2	22	(9)	41	(22)	51	(116)	38	(21)	25	(8)	37	(35)
3-5	80	(15)	50	(26)	65	(104)	41	(27)	16	(19)	43	(21)
6+	81	(21)	82	(27)	81	(58)	64	(11)	25	(4)	83	(6)
GIRLS												
Number of choices as member of leading crowd												
0	15**	(48)	23**	(114)	21**	(243)	11	(89)	4	(69)	11*	(132)
1	25	(16)	32	(34)	20	(207)	15	(20)	23	(13)	18	(38)
2	17	(6)	44	(18)	36	(138)	26	(19)	39	(13)	23	(35)
3-5	88	(8)	36	(33)	45	(166)	44	(23)	50	(12)	27	(22)
6+	84	(19)	79	(34)	60	(72)	50	(10)	25	(8)	67	(6)

*, ** Chi-square within sex, school, and country: significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

Danish girls, respectively. The magnitude of the association is approximately the same for all groups except Danish boys where Tau-beta is slightly smaller. In all cases the value indicates moderate association.

IV. Relationships Among Criteria:

To what extent is attainment of status on one dimension related to the attainment of status on another? Although the leading crowd is a less distinct group in the Danish than in the American school, we may, nevertheless, ask whether those students who are named as members of the leading crowd (about whom there is less agreement in Denmark than in the United States) share the same attributes in both countries. For example, are Danish students as likely as American students to perceive that those boys they believe to be popular with the opposite sex are also members of the leading crowd? There are three models to describe the relationship between prominence on any two criteria. The first model is one in which one's standing on one dimension has no relation to the other. A second model would have the two attributes seen as antithetic, so that judging someone to be outstanding on one criterion would make it more difficult to judge him as being outstanding on another and vice versa. The third model would have each attribute be an aspect of some generic leadership quality, so that if one should judge an individual as outstanding in one way, one would then be prepared to judge him as also outstanding in other ways. These three possible models of the relationship between elite attributes would be reflected by, respectively, absence of correlation, negative correlation, and positive correlation between the attributes.

The Pearson-product-moment correlation coefficients in Table 4-7 represent the extent to which frequency of choice on the leading crowd criterion is associated with frequency of choice on the other criteria. The first observation one makes from the table is the absence of negative correlations; none of the attributes are antithetic with leading crowd membership. In the American schools: (1) correlations are highly significant between leading crowd membership and being identified as the best athlete (for boys), the best dressed (for girls), and most popular with the opposite sex, (2) there are generally smaller (but still statistically significant) correlations between leading crowd membership and being identified as a best student. In the Danish schools: (1) there are statistically significant correlations between leading crowd membership and being seen as most popular with the opposite sex in all but two of the sixteen cases, (2) there is not such a consistent relationship between leading crowd membership and best athlete, best dressed, or best student. Thus, in the American schools, leading crowd membership is associated strongly with being best athlete (boys), best dressed (girls), best student, and popular with the opposite sex. In the Danish schools, the strong relationship between leading crowd membership and popularity with the opposite sex is repeated, but only moderate relationships exist between leading crowd membership and the other criteria.

TABLE 4-7

Product-Moment Correlations between Status Criteria by Sex, Type of School and Country

	Status Criteria							
	Leading Crowd by		Leading Crowd by Best Student		Leading Crowd by Most Popular with Opposite Sex		Leading Crowd by Friend	
	Athlete	Dressed						
ype of School	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
NITED STATES								
ural	.31**	.46**	.46**	.21*	.37**	.43**	.46**	.25*
egional	.54**	.30**	.17**	.17*	.60**	.49**	.36**	.26**
rban	.39**	.52**	.16**	.08	.49**	.54**	.47**	.32**
DENMARK								
ural	.15	.61**	.38*	.12	.47**	.71**	.56**	.49**
	.20	.16	.07	.35**	.55**	.74**	.35*	.24
	.33	.14	.10	.34	.34*	.32	.22	.17
	.05	.73**	.57**	.04	.53**	.67**	.21	.44**
Regional	.50**	.37**	.51**	.41**	.45**	.57**	.50**	.22
Urban	.58**	.50**	.45**	.21	.60**	.34*	.19	.25
	.13	.30*	.22*	.08	.19	.25*	.43**	-.03
	.06	.18	.03	.07	.49**	.37**	.18*	.37**

*, **significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

We see that especially in the United States the same individuals are often chosen for various statuses. In the schools in the United States certain students are salient for more than one status position. The criteria are perhaps aspects of some generic leadership quality, such as "a good personality." In Denmark, each of the specific ways of being outstanding, such as best athlete or best student, is less strongly correlated with membership in the leading crowd than in the United States. The fact that popularity with the opposite sex is very strongly related to membership in the leading crowd in Denmark as well as in the United States suggests that social activity plays a large part in the assessments made by adolescents in both countries.

Further data showing the correlation between number of mentions received as a member of the leading crowd and as a friend (Table 4-7) support the importance of sociability or popularity as an aspect of leading crowd membership. The correlations are uniformly significant in the American schools. In the Danish schools there is more variability, but in general there is a moderate, positive association. It is surprising that friendship should be closely associated with status in the United States. Perhaps students like to consider outstanding leaders as their friends or those individuals who receive many friendship choices become leaders through their popularity. We also have added evidence, especially for the United States, that the students receiving mentions as a member of the leading crowd are more salient, i.e., prominent, on many criteria.

We have argued earlier that the leading crowd in Denmark is a much less important part of the school, so much less visible that for many Danish students it never exists at all. Yet those Danish students who are aware of it nevertheless often place within it adolescents with the same attributes as those who become members of the leading crowd in the United States.

V. The Meaning of Leading Crowd Membership:

The data that have been presented thus far on the leading crowd in Danish schools appear somewhat contradictory. One questions the existence of leading crowds in Danish schools because (1) only half of the Danish students volunteered names of members of the leading crowd, and (2) about 40% responded that there was no group which ran things in their school. Yet (1) the amount of consensus on which individuals are members of the leading crowd is statistically significant, in all but three cases within sex and country, and (2) there is significant association (as measured by Tau-beta) between perceived membership and actual membership in the leading crowd.

This apparent paradox may be resolved if one considers those adolescents who receive choices for the leading crowd not so much as members of a well-defined "crowd" but rather as individuals who have characteristics associated with leadership. About 50% of the students in the American schools respond that there actually is not a single leading crowd but rather several influential groups. (Qx. 62, see pp. 8-9.) Thus, even in the American schools in our study, everyone who receives choices as a member of the leading crowd does not belong to the same group. Consequently, it is more accurate to speak of those individuals who receive choices as a member of the leading crowd simply as "leaders." This position is consistent with that of McDill, Rigsby, Meyers (1966) who conclude that "...There is not a global or pervasive status system among adolescents in the school... Instead...(there is) a network of cliques or friendship groups." (p. V-17)

In the following sections those students who received 3 or more choices[1] as a member of the leading crowd will be referred to as leaders.

VI. Some Characteristics of Leaders:

On the basis of sociometric criteria it seems that what it takes to be outstanding is the same in the two social systems. We now ask in terms of father's occupation, self-reported grades and occupational plans (1) how the adolescents who are chosen as leaders differ in the two societies, and (2) how the adolescents who are chosen as leaders differ from other students in the school. Selected characteristics of leaders are presented in Table 4-8. The most striking aspect of these results is the great similarity in the characteristics of leaders in the United States and Denmark. In both countries, there is a tendency for the leaders to come from white-collar families, to report good grades, and to plan to continue their education more frequently than those students who are not identified as leaders. Thus, the leaders come from the more privileged group in the community outside the school, and through their educational plans they intend to continue this advantage. Future educational plans is the one characteristic on which the differences between leaders and non-leaders is smaller in Denmark than in the United States. In interpreting the association between future educational plans and leadership, we assume that capable students who have found their current school situation satisfying will want to continue their education. These adolescents identified as leaders have successfully managed their entire school experience, both academically and socially, and particularly in the United States, plan to continue their education.

Since leaders come from higher socioeconomic background than non-leaders, their educational plans could be as much a result of their economic status as of their leadership status. However, the relationship between leading crowd membership and educational plans persists even after social class background is controlled. Table 4-9 shows rather dramatically that leadership has a strong effect on educational plans beyond that of father's occupation. Thus, a much larger percentage of students from each social class plan to continue their education when they are leaders than when they are not leaders. Social class appears to have greater effect on educational plans among non-leaders than leaders.

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[1] An above average number of choices.

TABLE 4-8

Characteristics of Adolescents Chosen as Leaders by Sex, Type of School and Country

Percent of Adolescents[1]	UNITED STATES						DENMARK					
	Rural		Regional		Urban		Rural		Regional		Urban	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
From white collar families												
Leaders	31*	30*	54	62*	25	21*	28	42*	50	72*	60	37
Total N	(32)	(23)	(48)	(64)	(132)	(193)	(37)	(31)	(22)	(18)	(25)	(27)
Not Leaders	13	21	50	44	21	15	23	16	41	38	45	45
Total N	(47)	(67)	(168)	(145)	(549)	(495)	(105)	(125)	(64)	(90)	(222)	(193)
Who report good grades												
Leaders	46**	27	36**	34	20	12	38*	31	55*	47**	15	36
Total N	(35)	(26)	(52)	(67)	(159)	(235)	(37)	(32)	(22)	(15)	(27)	(28)
Not Leaders	4	25	15	23	14	13	17	21	21	14	12	30
Total N	(50)	(79)	(190)	(164)	(668)	(579)	(101)	(121)	(58)	(87)	(216)	(181)
Who plan to continue education												
Leaders	70*	65*	70	71	54*	35	68	52	65	68	46	57*
Total N	(33)	(26)	(50)	(63)	(149)	(210)	(37)	(33)	(23)	(19)	(26)	(28)
Not Leaders	38	38	55	35	42	27	51	51	58	54	56	52
Total N	(39)	(66)	(181)	(236)	(582)	(529)	(103)	(125)	(64)	(94)	(225)	(204)

*, ** Chi-square within sex, school and country: significant at .05, .01 levels respectively.

[1] Classifications based on: Question 327-328: clerk, sales, manager, official, owner, technical, professional. Question 23: U.S. - First rank; Denmark - Grade of "9" or better. Question 150: All categories except not continue, undecided, no answer.

TABLE 4-9

Educational Plans, Father's Occupation and Leadership by Sex, Type of School and Country

	Percent Planning to Continue Education					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Rural	Regional	Urban	Rural	Regional	Urban
BOYS						
White Collar						
Leaders	90	88	50	50	64	33
Total N	(10)	(24)	(30)	(10)	(11)	(15)
Not Leaders	40	71	53	27	15	41
Total N	(5)	(80)	(102)	(22)	(26)	(100)
Blue Collar						
Leaders	70	57	51	39	55	33
Total N	(20)	(21)	(90)	(26)	(11)	(9)
Not Leaders	43	43	41	18	49	15
Total N	(30)	(76)	(373)	(80)	(37)	(119)
GIRLS						
White Collar						
Leaders	71	77	35	23	33	40
Total N	(16)	(39)	(37)	(13)	(12)	(10)
Not Leaders	47	66	32	20	39	32
Total N	(15)	(61)	(71)	(20)	(33)	(87)
Blue Collar						
Leaders	69	64	37	28	60	35
Total N	(7)	(22)	(133)	(18)	(5)	(17)
Not Leaders	35	47	25	15	14	21
Total N	(48)	(73)	(377)	(103)	(56)	(106)

Chi-square not computed.

We have shown that what it takes to be outstanding is very similar in the two societies. Perhaps it is the importance of being outstanding that is different in the two social systems. One indication of this would be the level of self-esteem of leaders and non-leaders. Adolescents in both countries were asked to select from the following alternatives the one which came closest to their feelings about themselves:

(1) I don't like the way I am; I'd like to change completely;

(2) There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely;

(3) I'd like to stay very much the same, there is very little I would change.

Alternative (3) is taken as an indication of high self-esteem. Table 4-10 presents the relation between self-esteem and actual position as a leader as measured by number of mentions received as a member of the leading crowd.

Nominated leaders report high self-esteem more often than adolescents who are not identified as leaders, with the exceptions of girls in the American rural school and the Danish regional school. More than half of the boys who are leaders, both in the United States and Denmark, respond by saying there is very little they would want to change. Girls who are leaders do not respond so consistently across schools in either country. There is a difference between American and Danish adolescents who are not identified as leaders by their peers. In the American schools, among non-leaders, the percentage with high self-esteem drops below 50% in all cases for boys and below 40% in all cases for girls. In the Danish schools, the percentages remain fairly close to 50%, a smaller proportion than for the leading crowd in the same schools, but still a higher proportion than for comparable American schools. This American-Danish difference is more clearly seen if we look at the relationship between self-esteem and whether or not a student says he is a member of the leading crowd regardless of his actual membership.

When perceived membership in the leading crowd is used as an independent variable, as in Table 4-11, we find that in both the United States and Denmark those adolescents who say they are leaders are much more likely to have high self-esteem than those who say they are not members, but would like to be. The relationship is stronger in the United States than in Denmark. Clearly, in America, if you want to be a member of the leading crowd, but don't think you are, you are dissatisfied with yourself. In Denmark, it also matters, but not so much. Further, in the United States, even those adolescents who say they don't want to be members or don't care about membership have lower self-esteem; in fact, "don't care about membership" seems to be sour grapes for girls. In Denmark, those students who report that they are not members but don't want to be or don't care do not seem to have lower self-esteem than members. Evidently, perceiving oneself as a leader is important for only some of the students in the school. For most students in Denmark,

TABLE 4-10

Self-Esteem and Actual Leadership by Sex, Type of School and Country

	Percent of adolescents with high self-esteem					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
Actual Leadership	Rural	Regional	Urban	Rural	Regional	Urban
BOYS						
Leaders	62	51	62	56	74	60
Total N	(34)	(47)	(108)	(34)	(19)	(20)
Not Leaders	41	33	48	46	60	50
Total N	(39)	(153)	(432)	(86)	(57)	(195)
GIRLS						
Leaders	19	30	53	59	35	54
Total N	(26)	(53)	(178)	(27)	(17)	(26)
Not Leaders	29	26	38	44	37	52
Total N	(66)	(146)	(478)	(50)	(90)	(185)

*, ** Chi-square within sex, school, country significant at .05, .01 levels respectively.

TABLE 4-11

Self-Esteem and Perceived Leadership by Sex and Country

Perceived Membership in Leading Crowd	Percentage with high self-esteem							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Am a member	53*	(369)	44**	(324)	59	(102)	56	(87)
Want to be a member	33	(95)	27	(137)	41	(44)	47	(45)
Don't want to be a member	45	(165)	44	(272)	58	(87)	50	(127)
Don't care about membership	46	(173)	25	(197	50	(136)	45	(129)

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

failure to perceive oneself as a leader has less influence upon individual self-esteem. We showed earlier in the chapter that there was considerable association between the two measures of status: actual position as a leader and perceived position as a leader. In order to allow more direct comparison than is possible in tables the values of Tau-beta for each of these measures by self-esteem are presented in Table 4-12. There is positive association for all comparisons. In every case self-esteem is more affected by position as leader in the United States than in Denmark. In both countries, there are many students who perceive they are leaders but do not actually receive choices as a leader. The association between perceived leadership and self-esteem is of the same magnitude as the association between actual position as a leader and self-esteem. The adolescent's perception of his situation is as important as the objective reality in affecting his self-evaluation. It is possible that adolescents with enhanced self-esteem become leaders or voice assurance of their leadership position. We support Rosenberg's (1965) conclusion that self-esteem is supported by being successful in ways that matter in the immediate social climate. Leaders have the attention of their peers. Their success manifests itself in enhanced self-esteem.

Another way of comparing the importance of status positions in the two societies is to examine the extent to which adolescents chosen as leaders reflect the values of the school. Do these adolescents consider themselves scholarly? Do they more frequently prefer a scholarly role than adolescents outstanding in other ways or than the student body as a whole?

To learn the general academic orientation of adolescents, the following question was asked: "If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be?" The alternatives were, "brilliant student," "athletic star" (for the boys), "leader in activities" (for the girls), and "most popular."[1] The data are presented in Table 4-13.

In the United States, about a third of the students elect the "brilliant student" alternative. In Denmark the percentage is much higher, somewhat less than half the boys, more than half the girls. In the United States the two alternatives to scholarship which were presented were all appealing to substantial proportions of the students. Athletics as a route to prominence in particular was likely to be chosen; over 40% of the boys checked that alternative.

In Denmark, on the other hand, alternatives to scholarship may not be numerous. "Most popular" elicits a substantial number of checks, but this is the only meaningful alternative. Athletics is of little importance in the school, and "leader in activities" is almost meaningless because of the absence of extracurricular activities in the Danish schools. Perhaps better alternatives to scholarship could have been included in

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[1] This question was used extensively in the analysis reported by Coleman (1961).

TABLE 4-12

Association Measures for Self-Esteem, Actual Leadership and Perceived Leadership by Sex and Country[1]

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Self-Esteem by Actual Position as a Leader	.130	.098	.085	.039
Total N	(913)	(947)	(411)	(459)
Self-Esteem by Perceived Position as a Leader	.101	.103	.071	.076
Total N	(802)	(930)	(369)	(388)

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[1] Measured by Tau-beta.

③

TABLE 4-13

Image Preferred by Sex, Type of School and Country

Type of Image Preferred	Type of School UNITED STATES Rural	Regional	Urban	DENMARK Rural	Regional	Urban
BOYS						
Brilliant student	31%	18%**	34%**	47%**	52%**	44%**
Athletic star	37	39	44	19	10	25
Most popular	32	43	23	35	38	31
Total N	(84)	(239)	(826)	(142)	(87)	(246)
GIRLS						
Brilliant student	34	20**	44**	64**	59**	55**
Leader in activities	36	24	24	4	2	5
Most popular	30	56	31	33	40	40
Total N	(97)	(228)	(811)	(156)	(111)	(224)

*, ** Chi-square within sex, school, and country significant at .05, .01 levels respectively.

our question for the Danish students. Yet the difficulty in finding them suggests some of the differences between the school systems in the United States and Denmark. In the United States, the ways to gain status are several, each rather clear. In Denmark, the routes are less clearly defined. However, the table does not indicate unequivocally that Danish adolescents are more scholarly than the American. The greater percentages checking the "brilliant student" image may reflect the fact that alternatives to scholarship as a source of status within the school are less available to them. Some further data, to be presented in Chapter 5, indicates that scholarship is more important in the Danish school system than in the American.

We examined the images preferred by students who have been chosen on the different criteria either as students, as athletes, in popularity with the opposite sex, or as leaders. The percentages of students chosen as outstanding[1] on each of these criteria who would themselves prefer to be remembered as a brilliant student are shown in Table 4-14. We ask, in other words, the extent to which the scholarly image has appeal to those who are identified by their peers as successful students, and also to those who are identified as successful in other respects. The data in Table 4-14 suggest that in the American schools, it is primarily those adolescents who are themselves outstanding as students who value the scholarly images. Those who are outstanding in other respects, and most strikingly those who are identified by their fellows as leaders, show preference for alternatives to scholarship. In Denmark, on the other hand, appreciable proportions of adolescents who have been elected as outstanding in non-scholarly ways would, nevertheless, prefer to be remembered as students. In both countries, leaders are consistently less likely to want to be remembered as "brilliant students" than individuals not in the leading crowd.

The results discussed above are summarized in Figures 4-1 and 4-2.[2] The triangular graphs show very clearly that a higher proportion of Danish boys and girls than American boys and girls choose the "brilliant student" image. The relative homogeneity of the Danish schools contrasts with the greater variability of the American schools. In all cases, for boys and girls in both countries, the leaders are "pulling away" from the "brilliant student" image. The orientation of the American

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[1] The following definition is used here: leaders - 3 or more mentions as a member of the leading crowd; outstanding athlete, in dress, student, in popularity with opposite sex - 2 or more mentions for each of these criteria. These are above average number of mentions.

[2] In these figures each type of American and Danish school is located according to the proportion of boys or girls who chose each image. The leaders are located relative to the students as a whole by an arrow leading from the school to its leaders.

TABLE 4-14

Choice of Brilliant Student Image by Status Positions, Sex, Type of School and Country

Status Positions	Percentage of Students Choosing the Brilliant Student Image					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Rural	Regional	Urban	Rural	Regional	Urban
BOYS						
Best athlete	27	12**	20**	41	47	36**
Total N	(11)	(26)	(92)	(29)	(15)	(42)
Best student	50	63**	53**	48	58	47
Total N	(12)	(19)	(80)	(29)	(19)	(43)
Most popular with opposite sex	25	14	19*	39	27*	50
Total N	(12)	(21)	(73)	(23)	(15)	(28)
Leaders	31	15	25	35	44	30*
Total N	(36	(53)	(160)	(37)	(23)	(27)
Student body	31	18**	34**	47**	52**	44**
Total N	(84)	(239)	(826)	(142)	(87)	(246)
GIRLS						
Best dressed	31	15	35	71	46	37
Total N	(16)	(33)	(117)	(24)	(11)	(27)
Best student	22**	46*	55	69	54	55
Total N	(9)	(24)	(110)	(29)	(13)	(31)
Most popular with opposite sex	29	20	40*	57	31*	45
Total N	(14)	(25)	(97)	(28)	(16)	(31)
Leaders	22	18	39*	61	42	44*
Total N	(27)	(66)	(234)	(33)	(19)	(27)
Student body	34	20**	44**	64**	59**	55**
Total N	(97)	(228)	(811)	(156)	(111)	(224)

*, ** Chi-square within sex, school, and country significant at .05, .01 levels, respectively.

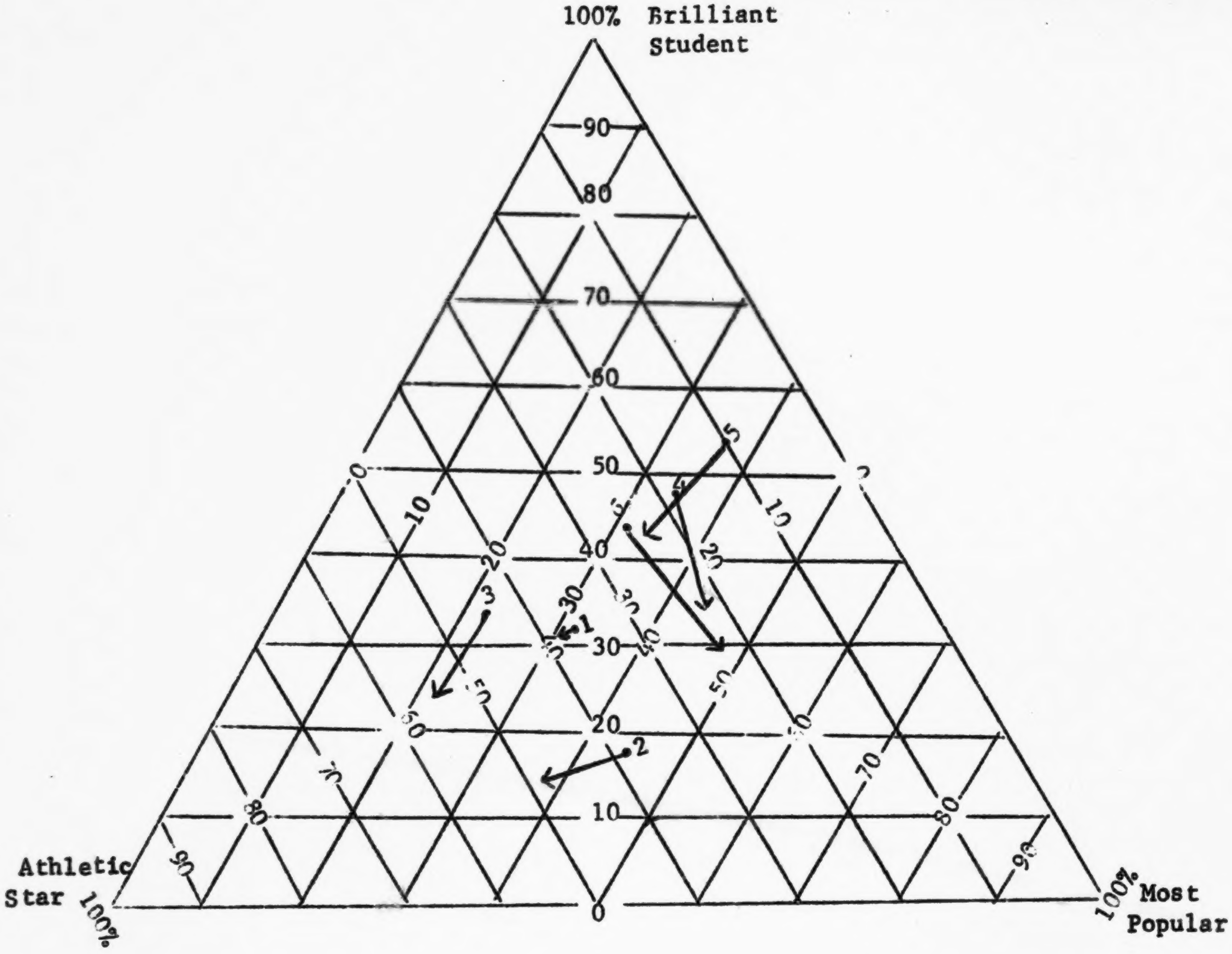

Figure 4-1 Relative choice of image of athletic star, brilliant student, and most popular by all boys (origin) and by boys chosen as leaders (arrow).

1	US Rural	4	Danish Rural
2	US Regional	5	Danish Regional
3	US Urban	6	Danish Urban

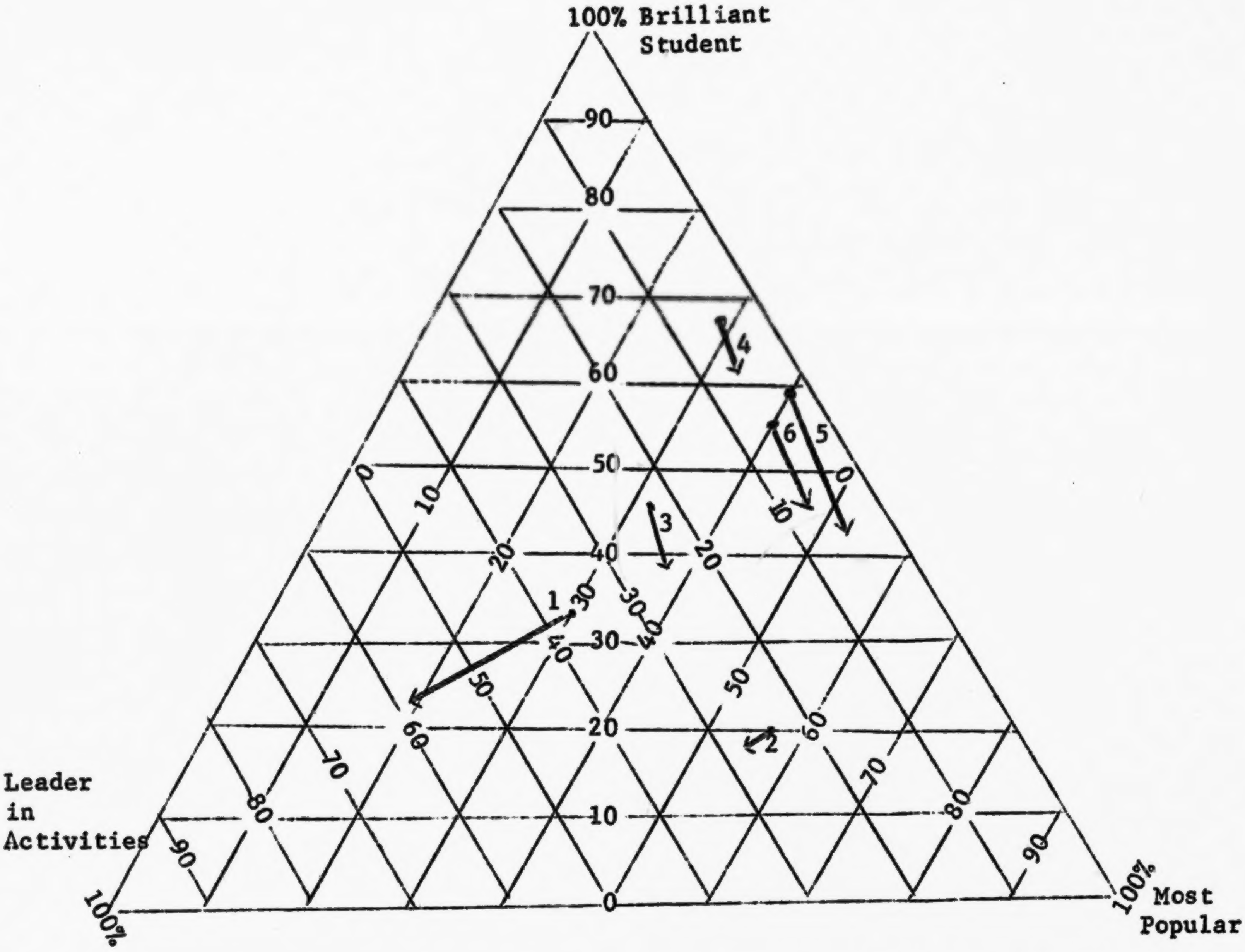

Figure 4-2 Relative choice of image of leader in activities, brilliant student, and most popular by all girls (origin) and by girls chosen as leaders (arrow).

1 US Rural
2 US Regional
3 US Urban
4 Danish Rural
5 Danish Regional
6 Danish Urban

boys chosen as leaders is uniformly toward the "athletic star" image. The direction of the "pulling" for the Danish girls chosen as leaders is consistently toward "most popular." Thus, the most obvious difference in the social system of the two schools, the relative unimportance of athletics and extracurricular activities in general in the Danish school, reflects itself. Nevertheless, Danish adolescents chosen as leaders, although more scholarly than American leaders, are less likely to want to be remembered as "brilliant students" than are their fellow classmates.

An apparent paradox exists in these data for both Danish and American adolescents. Coleman noted the same paradox in his data. Leaders are characterized as those who can get along well with other students and who seem to get good grades. An adolescent who is identified as "a brilliant student" runs the risk of being identified as "a grind" unless he can communicate that he meets academic demands with a minimum of involvement. This may explain why leaders are less likely to want to be remembered as brilliant students. It does not explain, however, why members of the leading crowd, nevertheless, are more likely than others to report good grades. Perhaps adolescents identified as leaders are more likely than other students to deal effectively with all aspects of their environment; perhaps there is a tendency for the leadership to include within it youngsters who are bright, even though they do not choose to give a scholarly appearance. It seems that the leaders are not against grades, only against giving the appearance of working too hard for them. As we will see in the next chapter, there is a completely different academic and intellectual orientation in the school systems of the two countries.

VII. Summary by Type of School:

Although our primary focus is the comparison of the American and Danish schools, because of the diversity in the schools the results are summarized by type of school.

United States Rural (School 30) - There is lower consensus on leading crowd and poorer fit between actual and perceived leadership position for boys in this school. Of boys a higher percentage (41%) receive 3 or more mentions as a leader than in any other school. Nevertheless, there is only one characteristic, namely, image preferred, on which we can't distinguish leaders from student body. Perhaps this is because boys in the school are evenly distributed among the 3 alternatives. The girls in School 30 do have a high degree of consensus on all the criteria. Similar to the boys, the girls choose the 3 alternatives equally, with about a third of the girls choosing the brilliant student image. However, fewer of the "leaders" than the student body as a whole wish to be remembered as a brilliant student. The girls who are leaders in this school do not report good grades very much more frequently than those who are not leaders.

United States Regional (School 31) - For both boys and girls in this school, when asked how they wish to be remembered, "most popular" draws the largest percentage. Students in this school typify more than the other American schools the status conscious adolescents that Coleman describes. There is considerable degree of consensus on all the status criteria and a strong association between perceived and actual leadership position. As Coleman found in his schools those adolescents identified as leaders are even less likely than the student body as a whole to choose the brilliant student image.

United States Urban (School 32) - A smaller number of students in this school named someone for the status position. Nevertheless, there was consensus on who was outstanding in the various ways and significant correlations between the frequency of choice on one criterion and on another. Whether or not one was a leader had no effect on future educational plans for the white-collar adolescents, who are in the minority in this school. However, for students from blue-collar families those adolescents identified as leaders are more likely to continue their education than non-leaders.

Girls in this school are more likely to choose the brilliant student image than the other alternatives. The correlation between choices for best student and choices for leader was not significant and contrary to the general pattern, girls identified as leaders were not more likely to report good grades than non-leaders. More boys in School 32 wish to be remembered as an athletic star than as either a brilliant student or as most popular. Again we find that the leaders are "pulling away" from the brilliant student image.

Danish Rural (Schools 50, 53, 55, 57) - As in all the other Danish schools a majority of the students wish to be remembered as a brilliant student rather than as an athletic star, leader in activities, or most popular. Of those adolescents identified in status positions, boys who are leaders prefer the brilliant student image less frequently than the student body as a whole.

Denmark Regional (School 56) - In this school there was little correspondence between actual position as a leader and perceived position. Yet when actual position was used as a dependent variable those identified as leaders differed considerably from non-leaders on the characteristics considered.

Denmark Urban (Schools 52, 54, 59) - Adolescents identified as leaders could be distinguished from non-leaders in these schools except in terms of educational plans. Leaders were not more likely to continue their education than non-leaders, and for the boys were even less likely to do so. When educational plans by leadership position was controlled by father's occupation, social class does not have an effect on educational plans for those identified as leaders. However, the non-leaders are more likely to continue their education if they come from white-collar families.

VIII. Conclusion

This chapter explores the meaning of status in secondary schools in the United States and Denmark. We present data supporting the theoretical position of Parsons (1959) that

> the prominence of the youth culture is, in comparison with other societies one of the hallmarks of the American educational system; it is much less prominent in most European systems (p. 315).

The organization of the secondary Danish school would make the development of a differentiated group structure more likely in Denmark than in America. However, we find that the American adolescents have a more stratified social system than the Danish adolescents. We found the following differences in social structure between the American and Danish schools. (1) Danish students were as willing or able as American students to name someone outstanding on the status criteria (athletics, dress, studies, popularity with the opposite sex), but only about 50% of the Danish students volunteered names of members of the leading crowd. (2) A larger proportion of Danish students than American students report that there are no leading groups in their school. (3) There is significantly greater consensus on who occupies status positions in the United States than Denmark.

Considerable similarity was found on the personal characteristics of adolescents named as leaders in the United States and Denmark. (1) There was strong association, as measured by Tau-beta, between actual and perceived leadership position. (2) There was a pattern of positive correlations (most of them significant) between frequency of choice on one status criterion and on another. The correlations were highest between membership in the leading crowd and popularity with the opposite sex. (3) Those adolescents in the two countries identified as leaders by their peers share the same characteristics. Namely, white-collar background, self-reported good grades, and plans to continue their education. (4) Self-esteem is more affected by position as a leader in the United States than in Denmark. (5) Danish adolescents more than American adolescents wish to be remembered as brilliant students. In both countries, leaders prefer the scholarly image less than the student body as a whole.

We conclude that leadership positions exist in American schools as a definite, visible part of the social structure.[1] However, to a large extent this is an American phenomenon. It seems most probable that the leaders in the Danish schools do not belong to an identifiable group. Nevertheless, they share many of the same characteristics of American students in leadership positions.

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[1] We confirm in the American schools the associations which Coleman found between self-esteem, grades, and educational plans and number of choices as a member of the leading crowd. However, our findings on social background do not parallel Coleman. Coleman develops what he calls a majority theory of leadership. That is, students choose leaders who are like themselves. We found that a larger proportion of students from white-collar than blue-collar backgrounds become members of the leading crowd in all three of our American schools even though the majority of the fathers in the urban school are in blue-collar occupations.

What underlies these phenomena? One explanation might be that American adolescents, like American adults, feel it necessary to demonstrate their worth through achievement, and through recognition from their peers, while in Denmark it is a less pervasive theme. Among American adolescents, achievement of a leadership position would be extremely reassuring, and failure a very destructive experience. In the United States there is the danger that if one is not outstanding in some way, one is not worthwhile at all. Thus, in the United States, those adolescents who are not recognized by their peers as leaders would change themselves if they could, and in any event have lower aspirations for future education. In Denmark, the same characteristics are associated with leadership, but achievement of a leadership position is less important. There is a less developed social system in the school.

Chapter 5

Academic and Intellectual Orientations

The data presented in the preceding chapter suggests that academic or intellectual pursuits - grades or studies - are not primary bases for prestige among the students in secondary schools in either the United States or Denmark. Despite this fact, there are, of course, students in both countries who have academic or intellectual orientations. How do these students differ from students who do not display these orientations?

Following Bay (1962), we wish to distinguish between the academic and intellectual incentives. Bay defines academic incentives as "the value the student attaches to making a good academic record,...and above all, the achievement of good grades. Intellectual incentives refer to the satisfaction the student perceives in the striving to broaden his understanding and sharpen his power of reflection." In addition to the value that the individual places on academic and intellectual incentives, we are also interested in the perception by the student of the academic and intellectual values of others.

We seek to answer the following questions in this chapter:

(1) What proportion of the students in the United States and Denmark have academic or intellectual values?

(2) How are the academic and intellectual values of other students perceived?

(3) How do the adolescents who value academic and intellectual incentives differ from the student body as a whole in terms of academic and personal characteristics?

I. How are Grades and Studies Valued?:

A. Cross-Cultural Differences:

The following questions were asked of the students in both countries. The questions are operationalizations of Bay's academic and intellectual incentives (McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966).

1. How important is it to you personally, and how important is it to other students in this school, to get good grades?

To you personally	To other students
__extremely important	__extremely important
__important	__important
__not important	__not important

2. How satisfying is it to you personally, and how satisfying is it to other students in this school, to work hard on studies?

To you personally	To other students
__extremely satisfying	__extremely satisfying
__satisfying	__satisfying
__not satisfying	__not satisfying
__unpleasant	__unpleasant

The results for the first question are presented in Table 5-1; for the second in Table 5-2. The sample of schools is the same as that used in Chapter 4. However, in order to show the cross-cultural differences most clearly, the results have been combined for the schools in each country. Preliminary study of the data for schools separately showed only slight variation across schools within country.

As shown in Table 5-1, there is some difference, but not a sizable one, between Danish and American students in the extent to which they see good grades as extremely important to themselves. The cross-cultural differences arise in the perception of the importance among others. About the same percentage (40%) of Danish students judge grades to be important to others as judge grades important to themselves. In the United States, there is a dramatic contrast. Whereas about 40% of the American students say good grades are extremely important to themselves, less than 20% say that good grades are extremely important to others.

There are certain adolescents within the schools whom one would expect to place high value on grades. Students were identified who are committed to academic work on the basis of self-reported grades, number of mentions as best student, type of image preferred, and educational plans (Table 5-1). In both countries, these students do not differ from the student body as a whole in their perception of the importance attributed to grades by their classmates. Differences appear between countries in the importance to self. In the American schools academically committed students respond that good grades are extremely important to themselves much more frequently than the student body as a whole. The Danish students identified as committed to academic work do not differ as greatly from the student body as a whole in the value

TABLE 5-1

Importance of Good Grades to Self and Others Among Different Types of Students, by Sex and Country

Percent Responding Grades Extremely Important

Type of Adolescents[1]	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	To Self		To Others		To Self		To Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total Student Body	39%**	42%**	19%**	16%**	43%**	48%**	39%**	41%**
Total N	(1108)	(1131)	(1083)	(1123)	(479)	(506)	(468)	(501)
Top Rank Students	59**	60**	11**	10*	54	52	34	34
Total N	(180)	(188)	(172)	(187)	(84)	(123)	(83)	(122)
Best Students	61**	67**	14	9**	59**	49	38	27*
Total N	(109)	(145)	(104)	(143)	(91)	(73)	(89)	(73)
Those Preferring Student Image	51**	55**	19	19	49	56**	40	44
Total N	(323)	(426)	(318)	(424)	(218)	(287)	(216)	(286)
Those continuing Education	48**	50**	19**	15	43	55**	38	42
Total N	(491)	(374)	(485)	(373)	(263)	(266)	(262)	(265)
Those Who Say Extremely Important to Self	---	---	36**	29**	---	---	75**	70**
Total N	---	---	(413)	(475)	---	---	(202)	(240)

[1] Classifications based on:
Question 23: U.S. first rank; Denmark - Grade of "9" or better
Question 50a: 2 or more mentions as best student
Question 54: Brilliant student alternative
Question 150: All categories except not continue, undecided, no answer.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country, signigicant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

TABLE 5-2

Satisfaction in Working Hard on Studies to Self and Others Among Different Types of Students, by Sex and Country

Percent Responding Studies Extremely Satisifying

Type of Adolescents[1]	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	To Self		To Others		To Self		To Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total Student Body	17%**	24%**	10%**	11%**	35%**	44%**	33%**	33%**
Total N	(1101)	(1128)	(1071)	(1115)	(477)	(504)	(465)	(499)
Top Rank Students	20**	37**	5**	11	39	46	31	26
Total N	(180)	(188)	(176)	(187)	(84)	(123)	(82)	(122)
Best Students	27**	31	9	7**	41	48	25*	22
Total N	(109)	(144)	(105)	(141)	(91)	(73)	(88)	(72)
Those Preferring Student Image	24**	31**	9	12	37*	51**	33	37
Total N	(322)	(424)	(318)	(422)	(217)	(285)	(215)	(284)
Those Continuing Education	21**	31**	9**	10	35	48	32	34
Total N	(489)	(373)	(485)	(370)	(262)	(266)	(260)	(265)
Those Who Say Extremely Satisfying to Self	---	---	37**	34**	---	---	76**	68**
Total N	---	---	(178)	(267)	---	---	(165)	(220)

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[1] Classifications based on:
Question 23: U.S. first rank; Denmark - Grade of "9" or better
Question 50a: 2 or more mentions as best student
Question 54: Brilliant student alternative
Question 150: All categories except not continue, undecided, no answer.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country, significant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

they place on good grades for themselves or the value they perceive for others. Among those Danish students for whom good grades are extremely important, between 70% and 80% feel good grades are also extremely important to others in the school as compared to only about 30% (Table 5-1) in American schools.

While there appears to be a small difference favoring the Danish students in the extent to which they see good grades as important to themselves, there is a much larger difference between the Danish and the American students in satisfaction in working hard on studies (Table 5-2). Comparison of Tables 5-1 and 5-2 shows only a small difference in the percentage of all students in Denmark who find satisfaction in working on studies and the percent for whom good grades are important. In the United States, however, the percentage who say they are satisfied working hard on studies is much smaller than the percentage who feel good grades are important (Table 5-2). In other words, in Denmark about the same proportion of students find satisfaction in studying hard as value good grades; while in the United States, many more students want good grades than find working hard on studies to be satisfying. Indeed, only 33% of the American boys and 43% of the American girls who responded that grades were extremely important also responded that studying was extremely satisfying. The corresponding percentages for Denmark are 52% and 64% (Table not presented).

This discrepancy in the United States between the percentage who feel good grades are important and the percentage who enjoy studying hard is more striking when the responses are examined of those students who are recognized by their peers as doing well academically or who assert interest in academic endeavors. Table 5-1 indicates that for students who are committed to academics, American students are slightly more likely than their Danish counterparts to value good grades. However, in Table 5-2, only a minority of these American students say they find working hard on studies to be satisfying. Among students who assert a strong academic commitment, Danes show a much smaller discrepancy between the importance of grades and satisfaction in studying than do Americans (Tables 5-1 and 5-2).

Thus, we find that: (1) American and Danish students value good grades to an approximately equal degree; however, a distinctly smaller percentage of Americans than Danes find studying to be satisfying, (2) academically-committed American students value good grades more highly than academically-committed Danish students; however, again a distinctly smaller percentage of academically-committed Americans than academically-committed Danes find working hard on studies to be satisfying, (3) Americans see grades and studying to be more important to themselves than to others; a much smaller discrepancy exists between self and others in Denmark.

In terms of Bay's academic and intellectual incentives, there is much more distinction made between grades and studies by students in the United States than by students in Denmark. Good grades can be instrumentally important for future education or occupation; studying has to be valued for its own sake. Students, in general, as well as academically-committed students, in Denmark are not more academically oriented than their American counterparts; however, the Danes are more intellectually oriented than the Americans.

Why does the discrepancy exist in the United States but not in Denmark between the percentage valuing grades or studies for themselves and the percentage perceiving that others value grades or studies? Two lines of interpretation are suggested. Perhaps there simply is more sensitivity to differences among American students. American students become aware that most of their peers do not value grades or studies, even though for grades the majority is not a large one. According to this line of reasoning, those students who do value grades or studies realize that they are unusual, and report that most of the others do not value good grades or studying. As an alternative interpretation, we propose the notion of dissimulation.[1] According to Tannenbaum (1962) the brilliant student is forced to mask his talent to relieve the teen-age pressures to conform to certain behaviors and values. The anti-intellectual climate of the adolescent subculture (Coleman, 1961; Gordon, 1957, Remmers and Radler, 1957) could lead to dissimulation. The American student may know that good grades are important for his future, but he is also aware that grades are not a basis for prestige among his peers. We surmise that there is little expression within the peer group of desire for good grades or satisfaction from studies. Those students who do desire good grades and receive satisfaction from studies dissemble, suggesting to their peers that they do not really care. Thus, any concern for grades or studies is masked deliberately. If this were the case, most of those students who themselves value grades and studies would feel themselves quite different from their peers, since other students who actually shared their values would insist that they did not.

Which of these alternative explanations is more correct? Merton and Lazarsfeld (1954) have found that individuals group together with others having similar characteristics.[2] The grouping together with others also interested in grades and studies should reduce the extent to which individuals respond to the actual majority, when asked what others believe. According to Katz (1938), when there are large numbers of members in a group and they are not brought into personal relationships with many of their fellows, a condition of pluralistic ignorance often results.

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[1] For a discussion of the concept of dissimulation see Erving Goffman (1959), The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.

[2] As we will see in Chapter 6, we also find that adolescent-best-school-friend pairs share many characteristics in common, including self-reported grades.

Groupings according to interests in the school would encourage a response based upon the beliefs of friends rather than the beliefs of all the students in the school, increasing the tendency to assume others are like oneself. The results for Denmark where about 70% of those who value grades perceive the same value for others, could be interpreted as a condition of pluralistic ignorance. American students underestimate the similarity between self and others in academic and intellectual values. To the extent that this takes place we would prefer the dissimulation hypothesis to the hypothesis of correct assessment of majority feelings.

The achievement of good grades is important to about as large a percentage of students in the United States as in Denmark. The smaller proportion of American students who find satisfaction in studying hard as compared to those who value good grades suggests that in the United States the satisfactions of working hard on studies are important to many fewer. American students may express their dislike for the intellectual work while failing to express their hope for academic reward, in this way helping to create an atmosphere in which good grades appear to be important to fewer students than they really are.

B. Sex Differences:

Discrepancy between self and others is more intense for girls than for boys. Tables 5-1 and 5-2 indicate that girls in both countries are more likely than boys to report that they value good grades or studies for themselves. These sex differences are small but consistent, existing for the student body as a whole as well as for those students identified as committed to academics. However, of students who say grades are extremely important or that studies are extremely satisfying, fewer girls than boys see others as placing the same value on grades or studies. This greater discrepancy between self and others for girls is a consistent pattern for the student body and for the students designated as outstanding in various ways. In both the United States and Denmark, girls perceive greater disparity between their academic and intellectual values and the values of others than do boys. We interpret this to mean that grades and studies are even less important for girls in the eyes of one's peers for prestige. Dissimulation follows. Girls, more than boys, mask their real concern to give the false appearance that grades and studies do not count.

II. Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies:

Since they embody the educational values of the school, the adolescents who have an academic or intellectual orientation are an important subgroup. In what ways can we describe these adolescents? Table 5-3 compares those adolescents who value grades and those who value studies with the total student body on several questions: self-reported grades, sociometric status as best student, image preferred, and educational plans.

In both countries, adolescents with academic and intellectual values are more likely than the student body as a whole to report good grades, to receive mentions as best student, and prefer to be remembered as a brilliant student. With the exception of Danish boys, a higher proportion of adolescents who value grades and studies than the student body as a whole plan to continue their education. Thus, those students who think grades important and who find studies satisfying are more likely than students in general to hold other academic attitudes, to achieve academically, and to be recognized as an intellectual leader by their classmates.

Using percentage differences as a guide, both the American boys who value grades and those who value studies differ most from the student body in the increased proportion planning to continue their education. Girls, in the United States and Denmark, show the greatest deviation in the increased likelihood of the adolescents with academic and intellectual values to prefer the brilliant student image. The Danish boys with academic interests show smaller and less consistent deviations from the student body as a whole.

As was mentioned above, those with academic values and those with intellectual values are more likely to have future educational plans (except for Danish boys). The association for American boys is even higher when one examines the joint value placed on grades and studies: 67% of the boys who value both grades and studies plan to continue their education. It was found that adolescents who value grades and those who value studies are not any more likely to come from white-collar homes than is the student body (Table not presented). However, there is an interaction between educational plans and father's occupation in both the United States and Denmark (Table not presented). We wish to determine if the association between academic and intellectual values and educational plans is a function of social class. Of the American adolescents who come from white-collar homes 58% plan to continue their education as compared to 40% from blue-collar homes. The corresponding percentages for Denmark are 60% and 51%. As shown in Table 5-4, the relationship between valuing grades and studies persists even after father's occupation is controlled. The differences are much larger in America than Denmark. This perhaps reflects a less stratified Danish society or the fact that many forms of further education (including

TABLE 5-3

Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades are Extremely Important or Studies are Extremely Satisfying to Self, by Sex and Country[1]

Type of Adolescent	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Percent With Good Grades			
Grades Important to Self	25**	24**	23	28
Studies Satisfying to Self	19**	26**	22	28
Student Body	17	17	19	26
	Percent "Best" Students			
Grades Important to Self	15**	20**	26**	15
Studies Satisfying to Self	16**	17	22	19
Student Body	10	13	19	14
	Percent Choosing Student Image			
Grades Important to Self	39**	50**	52**	68**
Studies Satisfying to Self	42**	49**	49**	67**
Student Body	30	38	46	58
	Percent Continuing Education			
Grades Important to Self	61**	43**	56	61**
Studies Satisfying to Self	64**	47**	55	58
Student Body	49	37	56	53
	Total N's[2]			
Grades Important to Self	(384)	(429)	(192)	(226)
Studies Satisfying to Self	(167)	(247)	(153)	(205)
Student Body	(993)	(1025)	(454)	(473)

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[1] Based on questions: 213,215,23,50a,54,150.

[2] Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "total N's" for the table are those from the smallest N for any question.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country significant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

TABLE 5-4

Valuing Grades or Studies for Self, Father's Occupation, by Educational Plans, Sex and Country[1]

	Percent Planning to Continue Education							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Value Grades								
White Collar	75	(89)	60	(90)	60	(79)	66	(85)
Blue Collar	59	(228)	39	(284)	53	(123)	60	(146)
Not Value Grades								
White Collar	56	(157)	45	(138)	61	(102)	56	(89)
Blue Collar	39	(360)	27	(371)	55	(155)	40	(159)
Value Studies								
White Collar	84	(37)	66	(56)	51	(73)	61	(77)
Blue Collar	62	(94)	40	(162)	59	(92)	56	(136)
Not Value Studies								
White Collar	59	(208)	46	(171)	67	(108)	61	(96)
Blue Collar	43	(490)	30	(491)	51	(186)	44	(169)

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[1] Based on questions: 213, 215, 327, 328, 150.

study for the apprentice and commercial exams) were included in the "continue education category" for the Danish students.

In summary, we have seen that both American boys who have academic values and those who have intellectual values can best be characterized as those who plan to continue their education. In both countries, girls, who value grades and studies are more concerned with recognition as a brilliant student. There are no consistent differences in the academic characteristics of adolescents who have an academic orientation (think grades are important) and those who have an intellectual orientation (find studying satisfying). To expand the dissimulation idea, we suggest that American boys report the importance to themselves of good grades and satisfaction in studying because of the relationship of such values to continuing their education. Yet they fail to acknowledge the importance of grades and studies publicly to their peers. Girls who accept academic or intellectual values do so because they think (perhaps mistakenly so in the United States) that one can get recognition from peers, such as "being remembered as a brilliant student," for such values.

III. Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies for Self and Who Perceive the Same Values for Others:

We have seen in the first section that a much smaller proportion of American adolescents than Danish adolescents who reported grades as extremely important and studies as extremely satisfying to themselves attributed the same values to others (approximately 30% versus 70%). As shown in Table 5-5, in both countries adolescents who perceive the same high value for self and others cannot be distinguished from the student body as a whole by grades, position as best student or educational plans. American girls and Danish adolescents of both sexes with such values differ from the student body on the "brilliant student image." This supports the previous interpretation that those American girls who are choosing the student image do so for reasons of recognition; they perceive that grades and studies are highly valued by others.

Because of the greater proportion of Danish students perceiving the same high value for self and others, the distributions in Table 5-5 are more similar to the distributions of those who value grades and studies for self (Table 5-3) in Denmark than in the United States. American students who say grades are extremely important and studies extremely satisfying for both self and others are a small group. We propose that they are not reading clearly the message that the majority is trying to give. Most likely they are not a cohesive group and hence there are no identifying academic characteristics.

TABLE 5-5

Academic Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades are Extremely Important Both to Self and Others or Studies are Extremely Satisfying Both to Self and Others, by Sex and Country[1]

Type of Adolescent	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Percent With Good Grades			
Grades Important to Self & Others	10	12	18	22
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	9	19	19	22
Student Body	17	17	19	26
	Percent "Best" Students			
Grades Important to Self & Others	8	10	22	9
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	9	9	15	10
Student Body	10	13	19	14
	Percent Choosing Student Image			
Grades Important to Self & Others	34	49**	51**	67**
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	32	44*	47*	68**
Student Body	30	38	46	59
	Percent Planning to Continue Education			
Grades Important to Self & Others	55	39	53	58
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	55	34	52	55
Student Body	49	37	56	53
	Total N's[2]			
Grades Important to Self & Others	(134)	(117)	(142)	(156)
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	(56)	(83)	(116)	(140)
Student Body	(993)	(1025)	(454)	(473)

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[1] Based on questions: 213-216,23,50a,54,150.

[2] Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "Total N's" for the table are those from the smallest N for any question.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country significant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

IV. Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies:

Thus far we have presented the picture of the American student with academic or intellectual values, in contrast to the Danish student with similar values, as an adolescent who perceives himself as different from his classmates. As he perceives the school situation, the majority do not share his values. Is this a disturbing situation for the American adolescent who cares about grades or studies? Is he a member of an "unhappy minority?" How does he compare on personal characteristics with his Danish counterpart who perceives that the overwhelming majority of his peers share his high value for grades and studies?

As shown in Table 5-6, American adolescents, in general, much more than Danish adolescents, say that it is very important to them to be well liked by the other students in the school. In both countries, more girls than boys are concerned about acceptance. A greater proportion of those adolescents who value grades or who value studies than the student body indicated that being well liked was very important to them. This is true in both the United States and Denmark, although the large cross-cultural difference in the percentage expressing this opinion remains. The question addresses itself to the importance of being well liked by the students in the school, not by a smaller intimate group. We have seen that academic and intellectual values are not held by a majority of the students in the school, nor are they perceived as being of high value to the majority of others. These adolescents with academic or intellectual values are not any more or any less popular among the students in the school, as measured by number of friendship choices, than are the students in general. It would appear that their desire to be well liked must go unfulfilled. Indeed, we see that the adolescents who think grades are important or studies satisfying report that they worry "a great deal" about making friends in school more frequently than do the students in general. This trend exists in both countries, and is stronger in Denmark. In both the United States and Denmark the adolescents who have academic and intellectual values are equally likely as the students in general to report high self-esteem. American girls who value grades and studies report higher self-esteem than students in general. The difference noted on acceptance and worries about friends do not generalize to their satisfaction with self.

V. Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Value Grades and Studies for Self and Who Perceive the Same Value for Others:

We were able to distinguish adolescents who value grades and studies for themselves from the student body in general on a number of academic characteristics. However, we found few differences in the academic characteristics of adolescents who perceive for others the same high value for grades and studies that they report for themselves. When we examine some personal characteristics of these adolescents we find that they differ from the student body on these personal characteristics in

TABLE 5-6

Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades are Extremely Important or Studies are Extremely Satisfying to Self, by Sex and Country[1]

Type of Adolescent	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Percent Saying Very Important to be Well Liked			
Grades Important to Self	55**	63**	35**	42**
Studies Satisfying to Self	53*	65**	33**	40
Student Body	47	58	25	35
	Percent With 4 or More Mentions as Friend			
Grades Important to Self	18	19	22	20
Studies Satisfying to Self	18	21	24	18
Student Body	18	23	21	20
	Percent Who Worry About Making Friends			
Grades Important to Self	39	48*	40**	49**
Studies Satisfying to Self	43**	44	39**	44
Student Body	37	45	30	41
	Percent With High Self-Esteem			
Grades Important to Self	47	44**	53	50
Studies Satisfying to Self	49	45**	51	51
Student Body	48	37	53	47
	Total N's[2]			
Grades Important to Self	(315)	(401)	(172)	(219)
Studies Satisfying to Self	(140)	(231)	(150)	(204)
Student Body	(807)	(944)	(408)	(457)

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[1] Based on questions: 213,215,110,47a,237,231.

[2] Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "Total N's" for the table are those from the smallest N for any question.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country significant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

much the same way as adolescents who value grades and studies for themselves.

From Table 5-7 we see that a larger proportion of adolescents who perceive the same high value on grades and studies for self and others than the student body as a whole, feel that it is very important to be well liked and also report that they worry "a great deal" about making friends. We find no consistent difference in their level of self-esteem compared to the student body as a whole, except for American girls who report higher self-esteem. Comparing Tables 5-6 and 5-7 we find that in the United States a higher proportion among adolescents who perceive the same high value for self and others than adolescents who value grades and studies for themselves, report that they feel it is very important to be well liked or that they worry "a great deal" about making friends.[1] They are not any more or less popular than the average, as measured by the number of friendship choices they receive. Nor do these adolescents (again with the exception of American girls) differ from the student body in level of self-esteem. These are adolescents to whom being well liked by other students in the school is very important. But they are misperceiving the message that the majority of students is trying to give: it is all right for grades and studies to be important privately but do not give that impression publicly.

Thus, adolescents in both countries who value grades and who value studies are more likely than the student body as a whole to feel that it is very important to be well liked and to report they worry "a great deal" about making friends. They do not differ from the student body in the percentage receiving an above-average number of friendship choices or in level of self-esteem. American adolescents who perceive the same high value on grades and studies for self and others respond in the same way, but more strongly.

Again with the personal characteristics as with the academic characteristics there are no clear distinctions between adolescents who respond to the academic incentive and those who respond to the intellectual incentive. This is surprising for the American adolescents, since, as mentioned earlier, only 33% of the boys and 43% of the girls who responded that grades were extremely important also responded that

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[1] Other interpretations of the data such as response set or a reflection of similar perception of values for self and others were explored. The possibility of response set for checking the extreme positive alternatives or checking the first alternative to questions was considered. However, no persistent pattern emerged when several conceptually irrelevant questions were considered. Individuals who checked the same alternative, "important" for self and others were considered. They could not be distinguished from the student body on the academic or personal characteristics.

TABLE 5-7

Personal Characteristics of Adolescents Who Say Grades Extremely Important Both to Self and Others or Studies Extremely Satisfying Both to Self and Others, by Sex and Country[1]

Type of Adolescent	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Percent Saying Very Important to be Well Liked			
Grades Important to Self & Others	63**	66**	36**	44**
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	62**	74**	37**	41
Student Body	47	58	25	35
	Percent With 4 or More Mentions as Friend			
Grades Important to Self & Others	17	21	20	22
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	12	18	24	18
Student Body	18	23	21	20
	Percent Who Worry About Making Friends			
Grades Important to Self & Others	45**	51**	41**	50**
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	54**	50**	45**	44
Student Body	37	45	30	41
	Percent With High Self-Esteem			
Grades Important to Self & Others	46	49**	53	49
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	42	45**	54	50
Student Body	48	37	53	47
	Total N's			
Grades Important to Self & Others	(115)	(115)	(133)	(153)
Studies Satisfying to Self & Others	(43)	(77)	(112)	(139)
Student Body	(807)	(944)	(408)	(457)

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[1] Based on questions: 213-216,110,47a,237,231.

[2] Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "Total N's" for the table are those from the smallest N for any question.

*, ** Chi-square within sex and country significant at .05, .01 level, respectively.

studying was extremely satisfying. In Denmark there is more overlap with 52% of the boys and 64% of the girls who report grades important also report studies satisfying.

There was striking similarity in the way the American and Danish adolescents who valued grades and studies varied from students in general, although the marginal frequencies showed differences. Even though the American adolescent perceives the values of others very differently than the Danish adolescent, there is little support for the "unhappy minority" notion. He does differ from the student body on some personal characteristics. He is not as popular, as measured by number of friendship choices, or as likely to report high self-esteem as individuals identified as "leaders" (see Chapter 4, Tables 4-10, 11, 12). However, there is no evidence that he has pervasive "dissatisfaction with self."

VI. Conclusion:

We have seen that about the same proportion of American and Danish adolescents value good grades. A smaller proportion of American students, but not of Danish students, find studying to be satisfying.

There is much more discrepancy in the American schools than in the Danish schools between the academic and intellectual values of oneself and the perception of the values of others. The overwhelming majority of Danish adolescents who value good grades and studies feel they are like their peers. The majority of United States adolescents who have academic values feel different from others in the school.

Adolescents in both countries who value grades and studies are somewhat more likely than the student body to report good grades, receive mentions as a "best" student, prefer the student image, and plan to continue their education. In terms of personal characteristics, academically- or intellectually-oriented adolescents are more concerned than students in general about being well liked and making friends. They are not any more or less popular, nor do they differ in level of self-esteem.

We have interpreted these results as a process of dissimulation. Because academic or intellectual pursuits are not a basis of prestige among peers, the American students who do care about grades or studies dissimulate and suggest to their peers that they do not really care. We surmise that adolescents in Denmark are fairly open about their concern for grades and studies, whereas adolescents in the United States take pains to mask such concerns.

Chapter 6

Informal Interactions with Peers

The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 has dealt with the social structure of the schools and the academic and intellectual orientation of the students in the United States and Denmark. We examined at length the kinds of status positions open to adolescents and attitudes of the adolescents toward grades and studies.

In the discussions of the adolescent's relationships with his peers, the focus has been restricted to in-school contacts and to the more formal aspects of social interactions.

We now would like to turn to more informal and more intimate friendship contacts and to extend the analysis in three directions.

First, we would like to place peer contacts within the school in the wider context of the adolescent's total peer involvement by introducing out-of-school friendships. Are most of the adolescent's friends chosen among other adolescents who are in the same school with him or are significant friendships established with peers outside of school? What is the relative importance of in-school versus out-of-school friends in the adolescent's life? Are there differences between the United States and Denmark in this respect? In part, then, we seek to find how much distortion we have introduced in our discussion of the adolescent's relationships with his peers by limiting our analysis to the adolescent and his in-school friends. We wish to know if we are discussing an adolescent's primary relationships with his peers when we deal with in-school interactions.

Second, we will explore in some detail the structure of friendship groups within the school. Our primary reason for considering the structure of the friendship groups is to provide collaborating data for one of the problems discussed in Chapter 4, namely, "Do leading crowds exist in Danish schools?" Our criterion for the existence of leading crowds will be whether or not individuals receiving choices as leading crowd members choose each other often enough as friends to constitute a friendship group.

Third, we will examine homogeneity and heterogeneity in friendship selection by looking at the characteristics of dyads composed of adolescents and their best-school-friend. We will consider the similarity of adolescents and their best-school-friends in terms of social background, school position, leisure time activities, and sociometric status.

I. Interactions Out-of-School:

Due to differences in the educational system, we expected that out-of-school friendships would be more important for adolescents in Denmark than for adolescents in the United States. Danish adolescents have many alternatives open to them other than attending secondary schools, since compulsory education terminates after seven years of schooling (approximately age 14). Students after that age may either continue in the real or almen line of the secondary schools, attend vocational-technical schools, or gain employment. Danish students may, therefore, be more likely to have close friends outside their own school than Americans. Our data, however, do not consistently support these hypotheses.

A. Whether Best Friend is in Same School:

As shown in Table 6-1, there is striking similarity in the responses of American and Danish adolescents when asked whether their best friend attends their same school.[1] In both countries approximately 60% of the boys and 70% of the girls report that their very best friend is in the same school. Of the remaining adolescents, in both the United States and Denmark, a slightly larger proportion reports that their best friend is in another school rather than working. The distribution of responses to this question indicates that school-going adolescents associate with other school-going adolescents. Quite probably those adolescents not in school have friends who have also discontinued their education. Contrary to our hypothesis about cross-cultural differences, we find that American and Danish adolescents give similar answers, the majority reporting that their best friend is in the same school.

However, some cross-cultural differences do appear when size and type of school are taken into account. Coleman (1961) speculated that in small rural schools almost the only adolescents available as potential friends are those in school, whereas in large urban schools a boy or girl who has no friends in the school may have friends outside it. There is not much range in the size of Danish schools. Both rural and urban Danish schools are small by United States standards. The rural American school is the only school that compares in size to the Danish. Table 6-2 presents the same data as Table 6-1, broken down by ecological setting (and concomitantly size of school). We find that in the large urban American school a smaller proportion than in the other two American schools said their best friend was in the same school. This follows Coleman's prediction that friendships within the school predominate for small rural American schools. When size of school is

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[1] As in Chapters 4 and 5, the sample of Danish adolescents discussed in Part I are those in Schools 50, 52-57, 59.

TABLE 6-1

Whether Best Friend is in Same School, by Sex and Country

Position of Best Friend	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
In Same School	62%	71%	60%	70%
In Another School	26	22	22	17
Working	12	7	17	12
Total N	(1085)	(1104)	(473)	(498)

TABLE 6-2

Whether Best Friend is in Same School, by Sex, Type of School, and Country

Position of Best Friend	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Rural	Regional	Urban	Rural	Regional	Urban
BOYS						
In Same School	78%	76%	56%	60%	58%	62%
In Another School	12	19	30	22	21	23
Working	11	5	15	18	22	15
Total N	(86)	(225)	(763)	(141)	(88)	(244)
GIRLS						
In Same School	73%	78%	69%	65%	71%	73%
In Another School	19	18	24	20	14	18
Working	8	4	8	15	15	9
Total N	(96)	(227)	(774)	(158)	(111)	(229)

controlled, Danish boys do report their best friend being in the same school less frequently than do American boys, whereas, for girls, such differences are small. The differences for boys are in line with our initial expectations.

B. Frequency of Contacts:

We asked the adolescents not only whether or not their best friend was in school with them, but also how frequently they saw that friend when he was not in the same school. We also examined the frequency of out-of-school contacts with the closest friend in school.

Table 6-3 presents frequency of out-of-school contacts with the best friend when he is in the same school and when he is not. No cross-cultural differences appear in frequency of contact with one's best friend. For both American and Danish adolescents, out-of-school contacts with the best friend overall occur with about the same frequency whether or not the best friend is in the same school. Danish girls do have slightly fewer contacts with their best friend when that friend is not in the same school. These data lead us to the conclusion that in both countries peer contacts are not limited to the school situation. Adolescents do have intensive relationships with peers outside the school, and to the same extent in both countries.

For those adolescents whose best friend overall is not in the same school, we compare frequency of contact with best overall friend and best friend in school. Table 6-4 shows that in the United States, and to a greater extent in Denmark, adolescents whose best friend is not in their same school see their closest school friend out-of-school less frequently than they see their best friend overall. Thus, the intensity of the relationship with the closest school friend depends on whether this school friend is also the adolescent's best friend in or out of school. In contrast to the Americans, Danes seem to have a smaller number of friends with thom they maintain intensive contact and to differentiate more strongly between best friend overall and all other friends. However, in both countries, frequency of contact with best friend is the same whether or not that friend is a classmate of the adolescent.

There is also greater variation for the Danes than the Americans in the frequency of contact with the three closest school friends (Table 6-5). Although American adolescents report that they see their second and third closest school friend less frequently than their closest school friend, the differences are much smaller than for the Danes. Danish adolescents, particularly girls, seem to maintain an intensive friend relationship with one, or perhaps two friends, and have less involvement with other peers whom they still consider their friends. These data support an hypothesis based on observations of adolescents in Denmark: for Danish girls, a friend has the role of strong companion and personal confidant.

TABLE 6-3

Whether Best Friend is in the Same School and Frequency of Contact by Sex and Country

Percentage Seeing Best Friend at Least Once a Week Outside of School

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Best Friend in Same School	88	82	85	81
Total N	(649)	(777)	(265)	(336)
Best Friend Not in Same School	91	81	87	72
Total N	(356)	(290)	(179)	(140)

TABLE 6-4

Frequency of Contact With Best Friend and Closest School Friend When Best Friend is Not in Same School, by Sex and Country

	Percentage Seeing Friend at Least Once a Week[1]			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Best Friend	91	81	87	72
Closest School Friend	79	73	61	52
Total N	(356)	(290)	(179)	(140)

[1] Out-of-school contacts

TABLE 6-5

Frequency of Contact with Three Closest School Friends by Sex and Country

Percentage Seeing Friend at Least Once a Week[1]

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
School Friend 1	84	80	74	74
Total N	(1097)	(1137)	(460)	(497)
School Friend 2	79	72	62	53
Total N	(1030)	(1083)	(422)	(445)
School Friend 3	76	60	48	34
Total N	(899)	(944)	(389)	(424)

[1] Out-of-school contacts

C. Factors Associated with Best Friend Being in Same School:

Factors other than school size were found not to be associated in either country with whether or not the best friend is in the same school as the adolescent. Variables, such as age, grade or program of the student, had the same distribution regardless of whether the students' best friend was in the same school, in another school, or working. Variables, such as self-reported grades, future educational plans, or father's education, which are used extensively in our analyses, showed no significant variation when cross-tabulated with position of best friend.[1] Thus, although the intensity of the relationship with the closest school friend depends on whether or not this school friend is also the adolescent's best friend overall; adolescents who report that their best friend is not in the same school do not differ in terms of age, grade, program, self-reported grades, educational plans, or father's education from adolescents whose best friend is in the same school.

D. Position of Friends, Number of Choices as Friend and Self-Esteem:

Coleman (1961) presents some data showing a positive relationship between number of choices received as friend and self-evaluation (pp. 221-222). He further reports a closer association for these variables in large schools than in small schools. Coleman interprets these findings as being influenced by whether or not out-or-school friends are available. If Coleman's explanation is correct one would expect the strongest association between self-esteem and number of choices as friend when the adolescent reports most of his friends are in his same school.

The question used in the earlier sections referred to the adolescent's best friend. It seems more appropriate in this context to ask whether most of the adolescent's friends are in his same school.[2] As shown in Table 6-6, with the exception of American girls, there is an association between self-esteem and number of mentions as friend, whether or not most of the adolescents' friends are in the same school. However, contrary to our hypothesis, in the United States, having or not having most of one's friends in the same school does not affect this relationship. In Denmark, it is opposite to what we initially expected. In general, lowest self-esteem appears among adolescents who receive few mentions as friend even though they report that most of their friends are in the same school. The increase in the percentage

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[1] Even when these above mentioned variables were controlled by school size, no significant chi-squares resulted.

[2] The responses to the two questions are similar. Tau-beta between position of best friend and position of friends by sex and country: U.S. boys .410, U.S. girls .393; Danish boys .458, Danish girls .422.

TABLE 6-6

Self-Esteem, Whether most Friends in Same School and Number of Friendship Choices, by Sex and Country

	Percent Reporting High Self-Esteem							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
FRIENDS IN SAME SCHOOL								
Number of Choices as Friend								
0-1	47	(169)	38	(200)	45	(85)	45	(89)
2-3	48	(218)	35	(342)	54	(118)	37	(182)
4-11	54	(107)	39	(194)	55	(69)	52	(73)
FRIENDS NOT IN SAME SCHOOL								
Number of Choices as Friend								
0-1	50	(139)	37	(90)	51	(57)	38	(42)
2-3	49	(120)	39	(95)	49	(63)	42	(50)
4-11	56	(43)	45	(22)	72	(18)	61	(18)

reporting high self-esteem from those receiving 0-1 mentions to those receiving 4-11 mentions is greatest for those adolescents who report that most of their friends are not in their same school. A larger proportion of adolescents who have four or more mentions as friend report high self-esteem when most of their friends are not in the same school rather than when most are in the same school. Evidently these are adolescents who have important peer relationships both in and out of school. They report most of their friends are not in school yet many students in the school choose them as friends. They are popular adolescents and their popularity reflects itself in their enhanced self-esteem.

E. Summary:

Fortunately for our analyses only a minority of the adolescents report that their best friend is not in their same school. Of those adolescents whose best friend is not in the same school between 50% and 75% do see their closest school friend at least once a week. No associations were found between a number of variables, such as age, grade, program, self-reported grades, father's occupation, educational plans and whether or not the adolescent reported that his best friend was in his same school. Thus, it seems justified to continue to include those adolescents whose best friend is not in the same school when we examine friendship groups and similarity between adolescents and their closest school friend.

II. The Structure of Friendship Groups:

In Chapter 4 we were interested in the formal structure of the school in terms of status positions. Our focus in this chapter is on the informal structure of the school in terms of mutual friendship selections. The data presented in the preceding section supports the position that we are dealing with intensive peer group relationships despite the restriction to in-school friends.

A. Selection of Schools:

Adolescents were asked in the questionnaire to name their three closest school friends. Choices were restricted to the same sex. Initially we have decided to examine the structure of the friendship groups in one American school and five Danish schools. We have selected the five largest Danish schools in our sample and the American school closest in size to these schools.[1] Three of the Danish schools are located in cities (Schools 51, 54 and 59), one is a regional school in a rural farm area (School 56) and one is located in a small town where the main industry is fishing (School 58). The American school is located in a rural non-farm area of New England.

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[1] We have the results of Coleman's (1961, Chapter 7) clique analysis for comparison with the American school. Unfortunately, Coleman does not present the association structure for Farmdale (169 students), the school most comparable in size to the schools under consideration here "because there are so few persons in each grade that there are no well-formed cliques other than the dominant one in each grade" (1961, footnote p. 174).

As shown in Table 6-7, the schools are approximately the same size. A smaller proportion of the students in two of the five Danish schools than in the American school report that their best friend is in their school. The other three schools are roughly comparable to the American school with about 70% reporting their best friend is in their same school. Around 80% or more of the adolescents in all the schools named at least one school friend. The girls in both countries were slightly more likely to respond to the question than the boys. The average number of choices (out of three possible) is slightly higher in the American school than in the Danish schools.[1]

B. Distribution of Choices:

The group structures were established solely on the basis of reciprocated choices. In all schools except boys in Schools 51 and 56 at least 50% of the choices were reciprocated (Table 6-8). A slightly higher proportion of the choices were reciprocated in the Danish schools than in the American school, particularly for girls.[2] The percent of isolates is fairly high, although comparable in both countries. In both countries, there is a higher percentage of boys than girls who are isolates. Among the girls in three of the Danish schools (Schools 51, 54 and 56) there are very few isolates (Table 6-8). It was hypothesized early in the study that the role of companionship and personal confidant is a strong determinant of adolescent friendships among Danish girls. In these Danish schools there are more pair associations for the Danish than American girls.

We shift our focus now from the distribution of the choices to the resulting patterns of mutual association. As shown in Table 6-8, the number and size of the friendship groups is about the same in the American school and the Danish schools. Thus, schools with about 100 boys and 100 girls we get about 10 friendship groups for boys and 12 for girls.[3] Because some individuals are not in any group (isolates

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[1] The overwhelming majority (80-90%) of the adolescents in these schools make their friendship choices within their same grade (data not presented).

[2] Coleman (1961) reports for his sample that reciprocated choices constituted less than half of the total choices (footnote, p. 185). Coleman allowed the student to make as many choices as desired while we limited the student to three choices.

[3] As stated earlier our definition of a group is based solely on reciprocated choices. Such groups must have 3 or more members. This does not correspond directly to Coleman's definition of a clique (1961, footnote p. 185).

TABLE 6-7

Characteristics of Schools Selected for Analysis of Friendship Structure

	UNITED STATES						DENMARK					
	School 30		School 51		School 54		School 56		School 58		School 59	
Number of Students	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
In school	102	103	120	106	93	79	90	118	91	110	133	115
In sample	88	97	110	87	83	76	88	115	88	103	126	109
Percent of students with best friend in school	76%	72%	49%	47%	57%	78%	56%	67%	71%	76%	62%	77%
Percent of students naming at least one friend	85%	98%	80%	97%	92%	96%	94%	95%	79%	90%	83%	88%
Average number of choices	2.36	2.59	2.05	1.76	2.08	2.47	2.52	2.54	2.38	2.39	2.17	2.01

TABLE 6-8

Summary Statistics for Friendship Choices

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK									
	School 30		School 51		School 54		School 56		School 58		School 59	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total number of choices	208	251	233	155	173	188	222	292	209	246	273	219
Percent of choices reciprocated	54%	59%	49%	72%	61%	73%	46%	66%	56%	59%	57%	67%
Percent isolates	27%	20%	28%	9%	19%	4%	15%	8%	30%	20%	23%	17%
Number of pairs	9	2	5	10	12	8	6	6	2	8	10	12
Number of groups	9	12	16	15	11	8	10	19	9	13	18	12
Size range of groups	3-13	3-11	3-7	3-8	3-5	3-22	4-17	3-12	3-16	3-12	3-10	3-14
Mean size of groups	5.4	6.2	4.4	4.1	4.0	7.5	6,4	5.0	6.5	5.3	4.4	5.7

and pairs) the average size of the groups in these schools is about 5 members.

C. Leading Crowd Choices:

The primary reason in our analysis for considering the structure of the friendship groups is to provide additional information on the existence of leading crowds. In Chapter 4 we came to the conclusion that Denmark, and to a lesser extent in the United States, adolescents who receive choices for the leading crowd were not so much members of a well-defined "crowd", but rather individuals with characteristics associated with leadership. The data used to support this position were: (1) response rate to the request for names of leading crowd members, (2) direct response to a question asking how many groups there were in the school which ran things, (3) amount of consensus on leading crowd choices, (4) correlation between actual and perceived leading crowd membership.

Implied in the idea of a leading crowd is the assumption that the individuals involved form a friendship group. If this were not the case, the influence of individual members of a leading crowd might be discordant. Thus, in order for a leading crowd to exist those named as the members of the leading crowd must name one another often enough as friends to constitute a friendship group by our definition. Table 6-9 presents data on leading crowd choices. The highest number of choices received by an individual in the six schools varies considerably. Except for a boy in School 58, no one in the Danish schools receives as many choices as in the American school. In terms of the school mean and standard deviation, it is obvious that more choices are made and certain individuals receive more leading crowd choices in the American school. Although the number of groups and the mean size of the groups was about the same in the American and Danish schools, the average number of leading crowd choices received by the groups in the American school is greater than for groups in the Danish schools. In the American school the mean of the group means is considerably higher than the mean for pairs or isolates (Table 6-9). In Denmark this is not the case. The differences between the average number of leading crowd choices received by members of groups compared to pairs or isolates are very small. The phenomena of pairs or isolates receiving many leading crowd choices is inconsistent with our definition of a leading crowd.[1]

The measures presented in Table 6-9 cannot reveal all the differ-

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[1] Coleman reports one case of this phenomenon with his data (1961, footnote p. 189). His case was with the freshman leading clique in a small school. He concluded that this clique which received fewer total leading crowd choices than one individual not in the clique, was not the leading crowd.

TABLE 6-9

Leading Crowd Choices

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK									
	School 30		School 51		School 54		School 56		School 58		School 59	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
WITHIN SCHOOLS												
Range for school	0-12	0-25	0-10	0-4	0-5	0-7	0-7	0-10	0-32	0-7	0-14	0-16
Mean for school	2.92	2.78	1.31	.47	.88	.91	1.38	1.23	1.56	.88	.91	.96
S.D. for school	3.11	4.66	.194	.84	1.35	1.57	1.81	2.09	3.78	1.42	2.00	2.09
WITHIN GROUPS												
Range of group means	1-8.0	0-10.5	0-3.7	0-2.0	0-3.0	0-3.4	0-4.2	0-5.4	0-2.2	0-4.0	0-7.4	0-2.8
Mean of group means	4.20	3.25	1.51	.45	1.20	1.08	1.96	1.06	1.06	1.29	1.14	1.17
OUTSIDE GROUPS												
Mean for pairs	1.56	0	.80	.30	.63	.56	.08	.25	9.75	.69	.30	.33
Mean for isolates	1.12	.85	.61	0	.09	1.50	.77	.56	1.00	.22	.52	.79
Number Groups Above School Mean	7	5	7	5	6	3	7	7	3	6	6	6

ences between the American school and the Danish school in terms of distribution of friendship choices among the friendship groups. A few illustrative examples clarify some of the basic differences. The structure of the American school, School 30, resembles the schools which Coleman (1961) describes. Among both boys and girls in the school there are four or five friendship groups whose members receive an average of about four choices for the leading crowd. These groups correspond roughly to grade levels and the choices are well distributed among the group members. The distribution of leading crowd choices among boys in the Danish School 58 is very peculiar. The boy receiving the high number of choices (32) is a member of a pair (his partner receives 7 choices). This pair was not attached to any friendship group and obviously two individuals cannot operate as a leading crowd in the sense that Coleman describes. There are one or two groups for boys or girls in some of the Danish schools where all individuals in the group receive some leading crowd choices. The best example is among boys in School 59 where one group in III real has four members with an average number of 7.4 choices. However, such groups do not occur in all the schools or at all grade levels. Often there are groups where the choices are not well distributed among all the members. There is one group of girls in School 59 which has a mean for leading crowd choices of 2.8. However, of the six members, one individual receives 16 choices, one individual receives 1 choice, and the rest of the members receive no leading crowd choices. Thus, our criterion for the existence of a leading crowd fails to be met in these Danish schools. Individuals receiving leading crowd choices generally do not belong to definite friendship groups.

D. Summary:

We have strong support for the conclusion that leading crowds are not a universal phenomenon. We have considered here a structural requirement for the existence of a leading crowd. Clearly the Danish schools fail to meet this requirement. Structurally, leading crowds do exist in American schools, even in small American schools, as a definite visible part of the social structure. We have not determined whether leading crowds exist in a dynamic sense in even the American schools. Do they have unifying interests, values and goals? Do they exert "influence" over the rest of the student body? These are difficult questions to answer and we are not prepared to give a direct response. Instead we propose that equally important influences on the adolescent are the adolescent's immediate friends. When asked directly "What it takes to get looked up to by the other students in the school," about half of the adolescents in both countries (United States, 51%; Denmark, 56%) responded that it was being "someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings."[1] When the same type of question was restricted to the immediate group, the great majority (United States, 79%; Denmark, 79%) in both countries said that "being a good friend" was important in order to be popular. Thus, we have considerable evidence that we should direct our attention to the nature of the interaction with friends rather than the "influence" of the leading crowd. McDill, Meyers, Rigsby (1966) came to a similar conclusion, namely, that the immediate peer group is more important than the global educational and social climate of the school (pp. V-17-19).

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[1] Other alternatives were: coming from the right family; leader in activities; having a nice car; high grades, honor role; being an athletic star; knowing a great deal about intellectual matters.

III. Concordance Between Adolescent and Best Friend:

The adolescent is involved in a network of mutual associations with his peers. We have concluded in the previous section that the primary peer influence on the adolescent is the friendship group. In order to examine the relationship of the adolescent with his school friends in detail we have restricted ourselves to the adolescent's best friend in school. We examine the amount of similarity in background agreement in interests between the adolescent and his best friend for the large sample of American and Danish students.[1] We look at the similarity on social background, school characteristics, leisure-time activities, and sociometric status. Most of the previous studies of homogeneity or heterogeneity in adolescent friendship selection have been limited to the socioeconomic variable. King (1961), in an attempt to answer whether friendship choices are directed toward those of higher socioeconomic status or within one's own class level, reanalyzed data from four studies. The results were inconclusive with a tendency for those of middle or low status to choose friends of high status. There was also some support for stratification theory, with friendship choices within the same status level.

A. Concordance in Four Areas:

Within our samples of matched adolescent-best-friend pairs we find more similarity between friends in Denmark than in the United States (see Table 6-10).[2] In both countries, concordance on socioeconomic factors is low, and lower than for any other variable. The values of tau-beta for similarity of father's occupation and education are low but significant; for family income they do not reach statistical significance. This low level of agreement on social background may be due to the relatively homogeneous socioeconomic status of both samples. Danish society

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[1] See Chapter 3 for the matching procedure. We use in Part III the sample of Danish adolescents from all 12 schools. The concordance values for the subsample of 8 schools would be very similar.

[2] There are only two borderline cases in which the significance level changes when boys and girls are considered separately.

TABLE 6-10

Similarity[1] of Adolescents and their Best-School-Friends in Terms of Social Factors, School Characteristics, Leisure Time Activities, and Sociometric Status by Country

	UNITED STATES Total Sample	DENMARK Total Sample
A. Social and Economic Factors		
1. Father's occupation	.085*	.147*
	(1561)	(914)
2. Father's education	.154*	.221*
	(1421)	(957)
3. Family income	-.001	.075
	(417)	(397)
4. Race[2]	.855*	--
	(1544)	--
Average[3]	.079	.148
B. School Characteristics		
1. Age	.539*	.641*
	(2116)	(1432)
2. Program in school	.552*	.807*
	(1979)	(1422)
3. Time spent on homework	.232*	.525*
	(2098)	(1403)
4. Number of sports in which participate	.185* (2157)	.284* (1423)
5. Self-reported grades	.181*	.297*
	(2100)	(1308)
6. Educational plans of friends	.360* (2143)	.310* (1389)
Average	.342	.477

TABLE 6-10
(Cont.)

	UNITED STATES Total Sample	DENMARK Total Sample
C. Enjoyment of Leisure Time Activities		
1. Art and music	.166*	.276*
	(2150)	(1417)
2. Studying	.136*	.221*
	(2148)	(1413)
3. Radio and records	.114*	.241*
	(2128)	(1419)
4. Reading	.091*	.154*
	(2139)	(1411)
5. Watching T.V.	.073*	.108*
	(2130)	(1413)
6. Dancing	.269*	.230*
	(2139)	(1411)
7. Sports	.212*	.147*
	(2134)	(1410)
8. Dating	.155*	.289*
	(2138)	(1408)
9. Going out with friends	.061*	.195*
	(2100)	(1418)
10. Talking about politics	.119*	.223*
	(2137)	(1413)
Average	.140	.208
D. Sociometric Status[4] Number of		
1. Choices as friend	.069*	.167*
	(2157)	(1423)
2. Choices as best athlete	.130*	.072*
	(2157)	(1423)
3. Choices as best student	.081*	.022
	(2157)	(1423)
4. Choices as popular with opposite sex	.135*	.179*
	(2157)	(1423)
5. Choices as leading crowd member	.363*	.386*
	(2157)	(1423)
Average	.156	.165

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[1] As measured by tau-beta

[2] For school 32 only

[3] Average is for first three variables only

[4] All with four categories: 0, 1, 2, 3+

* $p \leq .05$

as a whole is relatively unstratified. The large urban school accounts for the major proportion of the American sample. This school is located in a predominantly lower-middle-class neighborhood. One factor which is of primary importance for friendship selection in that school is race. Integration in the school does not reach to the level of friendship pairs.

Although similarity between friendship pairs on school characteristics is greater in Denmark than the United States, concordance is uniformly quite high in both countries. Age and program in school are particularly likely to be held in common by the two friends. In both the United States and Denmark academic variables, such as time spent on homework, average grades and educational plans of friends yield higher concordance than athletics.

The adolescents were asked how much they enjoyed a number of leisure-time activities. There is a significant degree of concordance between matched adolescent-best friend pairs on all the alternatives. Except for dancing and sports, there is again greater similarity between pairs in Denmark than in the United States.

The greater similarity of the Danish pairs than of the American pairs practically disappears in the area of sociometric status. While the values of tau-beta are significant for all the variables, only the measure for number of leading crowd choices accounts for much of the variance. We interpret the similarity between pairs on this status position to indicate that friendship pairs share the same leadership characteristics.

The primary bases of friendship selection are school characteristics, such as program in school or age.[1] Thus, friendship choice is a function of propinquity in school and only secondarily of socioeconomic background, interests, or sociometric status. However, there is, in most cases, a significant degree of concordance on these other variables. These results hold for both countries, although the level of concordance is somewhat higher in Denmark.

B. Reciprocated vs. Non-Reciprocated Choices:

The friendship pairs considered in the above sections were formed by matching the chooser with the chosen. We now consider the stronger friendship bond of the reciprocated choice. The proportion of reciprocated pairs is greater in Denmark, 57%, than in the United States, 43%. In all four areas, for all variables, the level of concordance is higher for reciprocated pairs than for non-reciprocated pairs (see Table 6-11). However, nearly all values of tau-beta for non-reciprocated pairs are still significant at the .05 level. When the stronger friend relation-

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[1] In most cases, age can be considered synonymous with grade level.

TABLF 6-11

Similarity[1] of Adolescents and their Best-School-Friend in Terms of Social Factors, School Characteristics, Leisure Time Activities and Sociometric Status, by Reciprocity of Choice and Country

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Reciprocal	Nonreciprocal	Reciprocal	Nonreciprocal
A. Social and Economic Factors				
1. Father's occupation	.088* (662)	.083* (899)	.168* (531)	.115* (383)
2. Father's education	.199* (628)	.119* (793)	.267* (544)	.162* (413)
3. Family income	-.080 (200)	.061 (217)	.056 (210)	.092 (187)
4. Race[2]	.869* (655)	.845* (899)	-- --	-- --
Average[3]	.069	.088	.164	.123
B. School Characteristics				
1. Age	.573* (911)	.514* (1205)	.691* (813)	.572* (610)
2. Program in school	.634* (857)	.489* (1122)	.878* (813)	.718* (609)
3. Time spent on homework	.283* (907)	.193* (1191)	.605* (803)	.419* (600)
4. Number of sports in which participate	.250* (923)	.127* (1234)	.344* (813)	.206* (610)
5. Self-reported grades	.213* (901)	.158* (1199)	.324* (755)	.256* (553)
6. Educational plans of friends	.402* (917)	.326* (1226)	.402* (795)	.189* (594)
Average	.393	.301	.541	.393

TABLE 6-11
(Cont.)

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Reciprocal	Nonreciprocal	Reciprocal	Nonreciprocal
C. Enjoyment of Leisure Time Activities				
1. Art and music	.233*	.118*	.302*	.236*
	(923)	(1227)	(811)	(606)
2. Studying	.130*	.139*	.256*	.176*
	(923)	(1225)	(807)	(606)
3. Radio and records	.105*	.119*	.273*	.199*
	(917)	(1211)	(811)	(608)
4. Reading	.071*	.106*	.208*	.083*
	(917)	(1222)	(807)	(604)
5. Watching T.V.	.079*	.067*	.132*	.075
	(919)	(1211)	(805)	(608)
6. Dancing	.307*	.242*	.267*	.174*
	(917)	(1222)	(807)	(604)
7. Sports	.238*	.184*	.152*	.138*
	(917)	(1217)	(807)	(603)
8. Dating	.171*	.146*	.345*	.219*
	(919)	(1219)	(807)	(601)
9. Going out with friends	.113*	.023	.252*	.125*
	(907)	(1193)	(811)	(607)
10. Talking about politics	.175*	.079*	.265*	.167*
	(921)	(1216)	(807)	(606)
Average	.162	.122	.245	.159
D. Sociometric Status[4] Number of				
1. Choices as friend	.238*	.070*	.336*	.055
	(923)	(1234)	(813)	(610)
2. Choices as best athlete	.162*	.114*	.100*	.043
	(923)	(1234)	(813)	(610)
3. Choices as best student	.083*	.082*	.020	.026
	(923)	(1234)	(813)	(610)
4. Choices as popular with opposite sex	.185*	.108*	.221*	.127*
	(923)	(1234)	(813)	(610)
5. Choices as leading crowd member	.467*	.311*	.442*	.334*
	(923)	(1234)	(813)	(610)
Average	.227	.137	.224	.117

[1] As measured by tau-beta

[2] For school 32 only

[3] Average for first three variables only

[4] All with four categories: 0, 1, 2, 3+

* p ≤ .05

ship is considered the values of tau-beta are of considerable magnitude for several variables: age, program in school, number of friends planning to continue their education, number of leading crowd choices, and amount of time spent on homework (in Denmark only).

We have demonstrated that there is considerable similarity between friendship pairs in a number of areas. In both the United States and Denmark greatest concordance occurs on school characteristics (average tau-beta for reciprocated choices: United States, .393; Denmark, .541) and least concordance on social and economic factors (United States, .069; Denmark, .164). In the United States sociometric variables rank second (.227) and leisure-time activities third (.162). In Denmark there is the reverse rank with leisure-time activities second (.245) and sociometric variables third (.224). As indicated by the greater proportion of reciprocal-choice pairs there are stronger friendship bonds in Denmark than in the United States. As measured by the similarity between friends, friendship is a more intense relationship in Denmark than in the United States.

C. Conclusion:

In this chapter we have considered three aspects of the adolescents informal interactions with his peers. The overall pattern of the adolescents' friendship selection was discussed in Part I. We found that the majority of the adolescents in both the United States and Denmark responded that their best friend was in their same school. However, the minority of adolescents who report their best friend is not in their same school maintain a more intense relationship with that friend than with the closest friend in school. The relationship with friends in Denmark seems to be closer and more exclusive. Danish adolescents see their closest school friend much more frequently than they see their other school friends and make more distinctions between closest school friend and best friend overall.

Considering only in-school friends we examined in Part II the structure of the friendship groups. The primary difference between the structure of American and Danish adolescent friendship groups is that Danish adolescents who receive choices as leading crowd members generally do not name one another as friends. Thus, we conclude that, on the basis of a structural requirement, leading crowds do not exist in the Danish schools.

In order to look at the similarity between adolescents and their friends on a large number of variables we restricted ourselves in Part III to the relationship between the adolescent and his best-school-friend. A larger proportion of the choices of best friend are reciprocal in Denmark than in the United States. We found greater similarity between adolescent-best friend pairs in Denmark than in the United States, especially when comparing reciprocated and non-reciprocated choices.

In both countries greatest concordance was found on school characteristics, such as age and program in school.

Thus far in the report we have concerned ourselves with the adolescent in the school and in the peer group. We turn now to a consideration of the adolescent's family relationships. Using as background our knowledge of the adolescent's interactions with his peers, we will proceed to examine the relative influences of peers and family.

Chapter 7

Parent-Adolescent Relations in the United States and Denmark:

The Training for Independence

A major assumption of the present research is that contacts with peers represent but one of several important forms of social interactions in the adolescent's life. For most adolescents, contacts with parents obviously represent other important interactions. This chapter and the next will examine parent-adolescent interactions in the United States and Denmark. The present chapter will focus almost exclusively upon the general characteristics of parent-adolescent interactions in the two countries. We will discuss for instance the extent to which the parent insists on authority, or alternatively permits some degree of decision-making to his child. In the following chapter, we go on to examine the interrelations among the different patterns within families. In particular, we examine some of the implications of particular structures in the two societies; the implications for adult-adolescent interaction of authoritarian as opposed to democratic structure.

A recent American study by Bowerman and Elder (1964) has investigated family relations of a group of adolescents very similar in age to those in the present sample.

The overall goal of that study was to determine the correlates of three types of adolescent attitudinal orientation toward parents and peers: affectional, associational and value. The sample included 7,400 white adolescents in grades 7 through 12 who lived with both parents in the states of Ohio and North Carolina. A major focus of the publications on that study has been on the distribution and consequences of patterns of decision-making between parent and adolescent. (Bowerman and Elder, 1964; Elder, 1962; 1963) The most frequently reported pattern is the shared type; the rest of the sample is evenly divided between mother- and father- dominant types (Bowerman and Elder, 1964). Furthermore, the same-sex parent is "reported as the principle authority figure more often than the parent of the opposite sex." (1964, p. 567)

Many of the family items in our questionnaires are based upon questions developed in that earlier investigation. Therefore, we had some previous findings upon which to base our expectations relative to the behavior of American adolescents. There are, however, no empirical studies of Danish families.

Because of the lack of empirical studies of the Danish family, our initial working hypotheses regarding the differences between the United States and Denmark were based on informal knowledge of Denmark and on discussions with Danes who could be expected to be particularly sensitive to characteristics of their country - psychologists, psychoanalysts, sociologists. On the basis of these informal and subjective sources of information, we expected strong differences to emerge from the comparison of families in the United States and Denmark. We expected Danish families to be generally more cohesive than the Americans, engaging in family activities that require the active participation of all family members more frequently than the Americans. We expected Danish parents to exercise more control over their children and to be closer to their children than the Americans.

As will become clear in the course of this and the following chapter these initial expectations were not supported by the data provided by our samples.

I. Methodological Considerations:

A. The Sample:

It will be recalled that the students' mothers were asked to complete self-administered structured questionnaires containing many questions identical to those included in the students' instrument: 68% of the mothers in the United States and 75% in Denmark returned their questionnaires.[1] The findings to be discussed in this chapter are based on data from matched adolescents and mothers pairs from intact families; there are 1141 such pairs in the American sample and 977 in the Danish.[1]

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[1] The analysis of possible response bias among respondent and non-respondent mothers has been reported in Chapter 3. The answers from students whose parents replied and of those whose parents did not reply reveals almost no differences among the two groups of adolescents in their father's occupation. There are no differences in the American sample and a slight tendency for a higher response rate among middle class than lower class Danes. Overall, the group of responding mothers does not seem to be different in social class background from non-responding mothers. This finding contradicts most previous studies of respondent bias in mail questionnaires. It has generally been found that non-respondents are of lower socio-economic background than respondents. As we will note later in this study, father's occupation also shows a consistent lack of association with other variables, in particular, patterns of family interaction.

The decision to restrict the analysis to this sample was motivated by the following considerations: (1) Since we are interested in the father's as well as in the mother's role in the family, we had to limit our analysis to families in which both parents are present; (2) Since we will be comparing the adolescents' and the mothers' reports of the same family events, we have had to limit further the adolescent sample to those adolescents whose mothers replied to the questionnaire; (3) Similarly, the analysis of concordance in values between mother and child and of the effects of family patterns on transmission of values, which is to be presented in a following chapter, requires a matched mother-child sample.

As indicated in Chapter 3, the samples in this study were not selected to be representative of the total adolescent population in each country, but rather to include schools in different ecological settings. An attempt was made to match Danish and American schools on that basis. Still differences appear in the characteristics of the American and Danish families sampled. Certain of these differences, such as those of age of child, size and socio-economic status of the family could influence the types of family patterns observed in the two countries. The Danish students in our sample are slightly younger than the Americans. (See Chapter 3) The American families are larger than the Danish ones: 57% of the American families have 3 or more children as compared to 34% of the Danes. Perhaps, the most striking difference between the two samples is in their occupational distribution. As noted earlier, in Chapter 3, the Danish sample contains a much larger proportion of farmers, managers and officials and a smaller proportion of skilled and unskilled workers than the American sample. These demographic differences between the two countries could possibly increase or obscure cross-cultural differences in patterns of family life.

B. Control for Structural and Social Class Differences:

The effect of such structural characteristics as size and sibling order on family functioning have not been investigated to any great extent and reported findings are inconsistent from study to study.[1] There is, however, a very large literature on the correlation of social class, ordinarily measured by father's occupation, and child-rearing attitudes, parental values and family power structure in the United States. The great majority of studies report differences between the middle and the lower class.[2] We were concerned, Therefore, that the differences in family patterns which might appear between the Danish and American sample might reflect structural or occupational characteristics of each sample rather than true cultural differences. However, we examined the effect of each of these factors, and in particular father's occupation, on the patterns of family interaction to be described below and found no significant or consistent differences among the different occupational groups in the two countries.[1] Therefore, while the cross-cultural comparisons to be presented do not control for father's occupation, this probably does not affect the cross-cultural differences that appear.

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[1] The samples and matching procedures have been described in Chapter 3. The proportions of presently married mothers (intact families) among those who returned their questionnaires is slightly higher (90%) in Denmark than in the United States (83%). In both countries, the proportion of married mothers is identical among those adolescents whose mothers returned their questionnaires and those whose mothers did not.

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[1] For a review of existing American studies, see Clausen and Williams (1963); Clausen (1965). Elder and Bowerman (1964) report a very slight tendency for parents who have three or more children living at home to be more authoritarian than parents with fewer children.

[2] See for instance Blood and Wolfe (1960), Bronfenbrenner (1961), Kohn (1959), McKinley (1964), Pearlin and Kohn (1966), Sewell (1963). Elder (1962) reports only very slight differences between middle class and lower class parents in the amount of control they exercise over their adolescent children. (pp. 247-248).

Overall, the patterns of family life shown by the data of mothers are similar to those shown by the adolescents' responses. This holds in both the United States and Denmark. Since we subsequently will want to relate these family patterns to other behaviors and values of adolescents, the discussion that follows is based upon the adolescents' answers. The exceptions to this are clearly indicated in the text.[2]

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[1] For example, the table below presents the distribution of maternal authority pattern by social class.

MATERNAL AUTHORITY PATTERN* BY SOCIAL CLASS AND COUNTRY

Maternal Authority Pattern	United States Social Class**			Denmark Social Class**		
	Middle	Lower	Farming	Middle	Lower	Farming
Authoritarian	43%	43%	43%	16%	15%	13%
Democratic	41	41	39	62	59	61
Permissive	16	16	18	22	26	26
Total N	(250)	(635)	(17)	(394)	(322)	(230)

* For a definition, see page 7. Based on students' perceptions.
** Middle class includes: professionals, technicals, managers, white-collar
Lower class includes: skilled workers, semi-skilled and laborers

No differences appear among families classified as middle class, lower class or farmers. The unexpectedness of this result led us to reexamine closely some of the findings presented by previous investigators. It would seem that some well accepted conclusions are not substained clearly by the data which are presented in evidence. For instance, the table which is used by Blood and Wolfe (1960) to demonstrate the direct relationship between social class and husband's authority in the family (Table 8, p. 33) shows a curvilinear rather than a linear relationship.

[2] The actual distribution of responses given by adolescents and mothers to the family items and concordances on these items between matched adolescent mother pairs appear in Chapter 8.

Unless otherwise specified, all the tables in this and the two subsequent chapters are based upon adolescents from the subsample of matched adolescent-mother pairs with intact families.

II. Patterns of Parent-Adolescent Interaction in the United States and Denmark:

As has been pointed out by several investigators of the family, and in particular by Bowerman and Elder, the relationship between the different members of a family can be examined on three different levels: the relationship between husband and wife, between mother and father in reference to the child, and between parent and child. (Bowerman and Elder, 1964) On the questionnaire to which they were asked to reply, parents were presented with questions touching on each of these three levels of family relationships. The children, on the other hand, were asked only about the last two. It is to the adolescents' perceptions of parent-child interactions within their homes that we will turn now.

For purposes of clarity, first we deal with general cross-cultural comparisons of the relationships to mothers and to fathers. We ignore the differences due to the child's sex, which are dealt with separately in a subsequent section.

A. General Cross-Cultural Comparisons:

The discussion of findings has been organized around variables which have generally been recognized as important dimensions of family structure: authority, communication, support, affective quality of the relationship and identification.

1. Parental Authority:

a. Measurement of authority pattern. Patterns of decision-making between parent and adolescent were used as indices of type of parental power structure and were measured by two five-response category items, one for the mother and one for the father.[1] The exact text of the items answered by the adolescent is:

How are most decisions made between you and your mother? (Check one.)

1__my mother just tells me what to do

2__she listens to me, but she makes the final decisions herself

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[1] These items are modifications of items developed for adolescents by Bowerman and Elder (1964). See also Elder (1962). It should be noted that the question does not deal with another aspect of the division of authority between parent and child, namely the kinds of decisions the child is thinking of when answering the question above. We have no information as to what areas of life are or are not even considered as candidates for joint decisions.

3___we make the decision jointly

4___I listen to her, but I make the final decision

5___I just decide what I will do myself

In the second item, father is substituted for mother. Three types of parental power have been defined:

Authoritarian:	The parent regulates completely the adolescent's behavior and makes all final decisions (alternatives 1 and 2).
Democratic:	The final decision is made jointly by the child and his parent (alternative 3).
Permissive:	The adolescent has more influence in the final decision than his parent (alternatives 4 and 5).

Perhaps the most striking finding is that Danish adolescents characterize their families by democratic and equalitarian interaction patterns between parents and children to a much greater extent than American adolescents. When asked how decisions that involve him are reached in his family, the Danish adolescent is much more likely to say that they are made jointly between himself and his parent than the American. Correlatively, in the United States, dominance of the adolescent by mother or father is much more common than in Denmark. As shown in Table 7-1, 61% of the Danish adolescents report joint decisions with their mothers as compared to 40% of the Americans; only 15% of the Danes report authoritarian patterns as compared to 43% among the Americans.

TABLE 7-1

Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with Mother and Father, by Country

Family Pattern	Interaction with Mother		Interaction with Father		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	UNITED STATES	DENMARK	UNITED STATES	DENMARK	MOTHER	FATHER
PARENTAL AUTHORITY[1]						
Authoritarian	43	15	53	31	.001	.001
Democratic	40	61	29	48		
Permissive	17	24	18	21		
Total N	(983)	(950)	(955)	(936)		
COMMUNICATION						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who feel that parent "always" explains her (his) decisions[1]	30	43	21	33	.001	.001
Total N	(973)	(937)	(954)	(930)		
Who talk "most" or "all" their problems with parent[1]	41	52	23	26	.001	.001
Total N	(970)	(946)	(952)	(938)		
RELIANCE						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who depend "very much" or "quite a bit" on parent for advice and guidance[1]	59	54	43	50	.05	.05
Total N	(825)	(852)	(827)	(846)		
Score on index of reliance on parent[2]	2.67	2.54	.94	1.56	.01	.001
Total N	(1074)	(969)	(1074)	(969)		
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS						
Closeness to parent[1]						
Extremely close	33	22	21	19	.001	.001
Quite Close	30	35	29	36		
Moderately close	26	30	27	31		
Not close	11	13	23	14		
Total N	(967)	(944)	(935)	(936)		

TABLE 7-1 (continued)

Family Pattern	Interaction with Mother		Interaction with Father		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	UNITED STATES	DENMARK	UNITED STATES	DENMARK	MOTHER	FATHER
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS (cont.)						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who enjoy doing "many" things with parent[1]	35	35	34	43	n.s.	.001
Total N	(971)	(941)	(953)	(941)		
MODELLING						
Wanting to be like parent in:[1]						
Most ways	42	30	36	36	.001	.001
Many ways	21	40	21	38		
Few ways	37	30	43	26		
Total N	(968)	(941)	(937)	(935)		

[1] Pass 147

[2] Pass 189/03,04

[3] Significance of differences between countries for each pattern, as measured by chi-square.

Slightly less marked cross-cultural differences appear in connection with the father's than with the mother's role. In both countries, the father relates in a more authoritarian manner to his children than the mother.[1]

The contrast in type of parental authority pattern between the two countries is illustrated even more vividly when one cross-tabulates the authority patterns of mother and father in the same family. The predominant family combination in Denmark is the democratic, in which both parents involve the adolescent equally in the decision process: considering the adolescents' perceptions, 41% of the Danish families are characterized by such a pattern in comparison to only 20% of the American families. By contrast, in 32% of the intact American families both mother and father relate to their teen-ager in an authoritarian manner as compared to only 10% of the Danish families. (See Table 7-2)

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[1] The greater authoritarianism of the father as compared to the mother is also reported by Elder (1962). In the Bowerman and Elder study the following alternatives were provided and the following types were defined:

(Autocratic)	1.	My mother/father just tells me what to do.
(Authoritarian)	2.	Mother/father listens to me, but makes the decisions, herself/himself.
(Democratic)	3.	I have considerable opportunity to make my own decisions, but my mother/father has the final word.
(Equalitarian	4.	My opinions are as important as my mother's/father's in deciding what I should do.
(Permissive)	5.	I can make my own decisions but my mother/father would like for me to consider her/his opinions.
(Laissez-Faire)	6.	I can do what I want regardless of what my mother/father thinks.
(Ignoring)	7.	My mother/father doesn't care what I do.

Category 4 above corresponds to the democratic type in the present study. Category 3, defined as Democratic, would have to be included in the authoritarian type in our study, since the democratic category was restricted to joint decisions. The Bowerman and Elder sample included 7th through 12th grade students drawn from schools in Ohio and North Carolina. 22% of the students checked categories 1 and 2, 36% checked category 3 and 18% checked category 4 for the mother; 35%, 31% and 14% respectively checked these categories for the father. (Elder, 1962, Table 1, p. 245.) Since the definitions used in the two studies are different, comparisons of findings are difficult to make. However, if one collapses the Elder-Bowerman categories to produce the categories used in the present study, the Elder-Bowerman sample appears to contain an even smaller proportion of truly democratic families than the present American one.

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b. Number of rules. In line with the more autocratic nature of the control American parents exercise over their children, they insist on many more specific rules than the Danes. Respondents were presented with a list of eight rules and asked to check which ones the parents had for their teen-age children in the family. Many more rules were checked by American adolescents than by the Danes. Thus, 55% of the Americans check three or more rules while only 29% of the Danes check as large a number (Table 7-3). The average number of rules checked was 2.85 for the Americans and 1.77 for the Danes.

It is possible, of course, that these cross-cultural differences in number of rules checked are an artifact resulting from the nature of the rules included in the check list. For instance, the list included a rule against going steady. Considering the age groups sampled, this may be less relevant a rule in Denmark than in the United States where dating begins at an earlier age.

However, the cross-cultural differences persist when one examines the frequency of students checking individual rules. For all items except one, that about eating dinner with the family, more Americans than Danes report the existence of the rule (Table 7-3). On certain items the cross-cultural differences are relatively small, on others they are large. For instance, Danish and American adolescents report about the same parental concern about the time that children spend doing their homework or watching television. American parents appear to be most concerned about regulating the activities which the children engage in outside the home; Danish parents most concerned about activities carried on within the family. Americans have rules, for instance, about the time at which the adolescents should return home after being out, or the kinds of boys and girls their children should associate with. The most frequently checked rule in the United States (checked by 72% of the students) is about being in on time at night; in Denmark, it is the rule about eating dinner with the family (checked by 48%), which expresses a concern about maintaining the cohesion of the family.

c. Authority patterns and rules. We expected that the differences in prevalence of the democratic pattern in both countries would explain the differences in number of rules. Indeed, the number of rules in a family is directly related to the amount of power which parents exercise toward their children in the decision-making process. As shown in Table 7-4, authoritarian parents have most rules, permissive ones least.

TABLE 7-3

Adolescent's Perception of Number and Kinds of Parental Rules, by Sex and Country

	Proportion of Adolescents Reporting Rule					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Number of Rules Checked:						
None	11%	7%	9%	25%	28%	27%
1-2	41	30	36	48	41	44
3-8	48	63	55	27	31	29
Total N	(434)	(473)	(907)	(439)	(479)	(918)
Mean number of rules checked	2.51	3.19	2.85	1.71	1.84	1.77
Checked Rule about:						
Being in on time at night	66%	78%	72%	31%	44%	38%
Amount of dating	16	43	30	7	21	15
Against going steady	14	24	20	7	20	14
Time spent watching T.V.	20	15	17	11	8	10
Time spent on homework	37	29	33	32	20	25
Against going with certain boys	23	55	40	11	12	12
Against going with certain girls	44	45	45	18	15	16
Eating dinner with family	32	29	30	53	44	48
Total N	(434)	(473)	(907)	(439)	(479)	(918)

Passes 7 and 8.

TABLE 7-4

Mean Number of Rules in Family and Parental Authority Pattern, by Country

Mean Number of Rules	Maternal Authority*			Paternal Authority*		
	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
United States	3.14	2.82	2.33	3.15	2.63	2.41
Total N	(378)	(368)	(156)	(475)	(264)	(155)
Denmark	2.37	1.74	1.51	2.09	1.71	1.46
Total N	(131)	(556)	(227)	(273)	(441)	(193)
Differences between means in United States and Denmark	.77	1.08	.82	1.06	.92	.95

Pass 26/1

* Differences for each parental pattern within each country significant at .05 (chi-square test)

However, the previously reported cross-cultural differences in number of rules persist even when type of power is held constant. Within each pattern, Danish mothers and fathers have fewer rules for their children to follow than the Americans. Within categories, the largest cross-cultural differences occur among democratic mothers. American democratic mothers have more rules relative to their Danish counterparts than the authoritarian or the permissive. It appears that the similarly defined decision pattern is associated with different behaviors in the two countries. The differences are in accord with the respective prevalent national patterns. In the United States, in which more specific limits are set for adolescents than in Denmark, the democratic mother sets, relative to the other patterns, more limits for her child than the similarly defined democratic mother in Denmark.

d. When are rules instituted? American and Danish parents differ not only with respect to the number of rules they insist upon, but also with respect to the conditions under which they apply these rules. The patterns of socialization of adolescents by their parents - the need for rules and the specific ways in which rules function - appear to be completely the opposite in the United States and Denmark.

The item about rules in the questionnaire did not specify nor did it ask what the content of the rule was. We now assume that this can be inferred. For instance, if a parent has a rule about the number of hours his child can watch T.V., we assume that he wishes his child would watch a few hours rather than many. For three areas for which we ask about rules, we also have information about the child's corresponding behavior. We not only know whether or not the parent has a rule about the number of hours to be spent watching television, but also how many hours a day the adolescent actually watches television. We have similar data on parents' rules about homework and the number of hours spent by the adolescent doing his homework; and about parents' rules against going steady and whether or not the adolescent is going steady.

The relationship between rule and behavior appears in Table 7-5. For each of the areas, we have assumed that a certain type of behavior on the part of the child represents the kind of behavior which parents try to enforce with their rule: watching television as little as possible (one hour or less), doing more homework (for two hours or more) and not going steady. Some very interesting cross-cultural differences appear: the association between rules and (assumed) preferred behavior operates in opposite directions in the two countries. In the United States, the proportion of adolescents showing the behavior favored by parents is highest when the parents have a specific rule about it. In Denmark, it is highest when there is no rule. For instance, the proportion of adolescents watching T.V. for one hour or less every day in the United States is 41% when the parents have a rule about number of hours spent watching television as against only 27% when they have no rule. In Denmark, the corresponding percentages are 39% and 66%.

Those associations throw some very important light, we believe, on the functioning of the family in the United States and Denmark. In our opinion, these data suggest very different patterns of adolescent socialization in each of the countries, patterns which could perhaps be summarized as external constraints versus internalized norms. In the United States, the parent needs to enforce specific rules in order to ensure that the adolescent will continue to do what is expected of him. If there are no rules, the adolescent is likely to engage in the disapproved behavior. In Denmark, the majority of adolescents appear to have internalized their parents' wishes and to be able to behave in the approved fashion without any further external constraints. Rules are instituted in those cases in which Danish adolescents do not yet do what is expected of them.

These findings suggest to us also that these different socialization patterns during adolescence may be a consequence of different socialization practices during childhood in the United States and Denmark. We would hypothesize that the American parent fails to socialize the child adequately and to lead him to acquire some self-discipline early in life, while the Danish parent exercises greater control in childhood leading to greater self-direction in adolescence. There would thus be early permissiveness and later constraint in the United States versus early control and later independence in Denmark. Adequate data are not currently available to test these hypotheses. Certainly, the early permissiveness of American parents has been amply documented in existing American parent-child studies and has been one of the aspects of American life most frequently commented upon by foreigners. (Gorer, 1954)

TABLE 7-5

Adolescent's Behavior and Existence of Rule in Family, by Country

Adolescent Behavior: Percent	UNITED STATES Does rule exist About Time on T.V. Yes	No	DENMARK Does rule exist About Time on T.V. Yes	No
Watching T.V. 1 hour or less	41%	27%	39%	66%
Total N	(157)	(746)	(89)	(828)
	About Time on Homework		About Time on Homework	
Spending 2 hours or more on homework	26	19	39	48
Total N	(291)	(604)	(234)	(632)
	Against Going Steady		Against Going Steady	
Not going steady	70	59	48	63
Total N	(140)	(559)	(84)	(564)

Pass 51.

2. Communication Between Parents and Adolescents

a. From parents to adolescents: parental explanations for rules.

We have seen that in Denmark, adolescents perceive their parents to behave in a democratic fashion toward them and to take their wishes into consideration when making a decision. Danish parents are also much more likely to provide explanations for their decisions and rules than the American parents. For instance, according to the adolescents' reports, in Denmark 43% of the mothers and 33% of the fathers always provide explanations to their children in contrast to 30% of the American mothers and 21% of the fathers (See Table 7-1). In both countries, fathers are seen as providing fewer explanations than mothers.

While there is a strong relationship between type of authority provided by the parent and the frequency with which he explains his rules, the cross-cultural differences in frequency of explanations persist even when type of parental authority is controlled for. As shown in Table 7-6, the democratic mothers and fathers are more likely to provide explanations for their decisions and rules than either the permissive, or especially the authoritarian parents. However, within each pattern, the Danish parent is more likely to provide explanations than the American. There is thus a pattern of greater collaboration between parent and child in Denmark than in the United States, which expresses itself in the way in which parents manage decisions and justify them to their children.

b. From children to parents: talking problems over with parents.

The greater amount of communication from parent to child in Danish families is also accompanied by greater communication from child to parent, and in particular to the mother. When asked whether they felt they could talk over their personal problems with their parents, more Danish adolescents than Americans replied that they would discuss most or even all their problems with their parents. For example, 52% gave this answer in Denmark with respect to their mothers as compared to 41% in the U.S. (Table 7-1). The differences with respect to the fathers are much reduced.

TABLE 7-6

Parental Explanation for Rules and Decisions and Parental Authority, by Sex and Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Maternal Authority			Maternal Authority		
Percent of adolescents who perceive parents as explaining decisions "always"	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
Mother explains "always"						
Boys	19	40	26	28	47	30
Total N	(210)	(172)	(86)	(76)	(245)	(125)
Girls	20	44	33	24	53	40
Total N	(201)	(217)	(82)	(59)	(328)	(103)
Total Sample	20	42	29	26	51	35
Total N	(411)	(389)	(168)	(135)	(573)	(228)
Father explains "always"	Paternal Authority			Paternal Authority		
Boys	18	35	16	30	41	27
Total N	(240)	(142)	(77)	(157)	(202)	(82)
Girls	11	33	19	21	42	20
Total N	(263)	(133)	(93)	(122)	(247)	(114)
Total Sample	14	34	18	26	41	23
Total N	(503)	(275)	(170)	(279)	(449)	(196)

Passes P 22/01, 24/01, 24A/32B

All differences among authority patterns within each country for total samples and for each sex significant at .001 (chi-square test).

3. Reliance for Parents on Advice

Despite the observed greater communication from parent to child and from child to parent in Denmark as compared to the United States, Danish children do not depend upon parents for advice consistently more than the Americans. While they do rely upon their fathers to a greater extent than the Americans, they rely less upon their mothers. The evidence for this is twofold. Students were asked directly, "How much do you depend on your mother (or father) for advice and guidance?" A slightly higher proportion of American than Danish adolescents say thay they depend "quite a bit" or "very much" on their mothers, while the reverse is true for fathers (Table 7-1). The percentage differences, while small, are statistically significant.

Adolescents were also presented with a list of ten problems and a list of different persons (for instance, mother, father, teacher and so on), and asked to check for each the one person they would rely upon most for advice and guidance.[1] Indices of reliance on each of these different persons were developed by computing the total number of problems for which the adolescent would turn to that person for advice. The lowest possible score for each person was zero, the highest 10. In actuality, the scores ranged from zero to eight. However, the American adolescents had seven persons to choose from for each problem, the Danes only five. The categories "guidance counselor" and "clergyman" did not appear in the Danish questionnaire, because a pre-test indicated that they would have been irrelevant to a Danish respondent.[2] Seventy-three percent of the Americans checked guidance counselor and 34% checked clergyman at least once. (The overall average index of reliance is 1.40 for guidance counselor and .50 for clergyman - Data from Pass 95/24,26). It is to be expected, therefore, that the scores for each of the remaining identical categories would be higher for Danish than for American adolescents, as they indeed are in each instance, except for "mother."[3] While it is possible to use these scores to make comparisons within countries, it is very difficult to use them to make comparisons across countries. As can be seen from Table 7-1 adolescents in each country are much more dependent upon their mother than upon their father. The values for reliance on mother are of the same absolute magnitude in both countries. In view of the differences in the questions discussed above, we would conclude that dependence upon mother is certainly not higher in Denmark than in the United States and is probably lower. The absolute scores for dependence upon father are higher in Denmark than in the United States, and are consistent with the results reported above in connection with the direct question. But the observed difference could very well be accounted for by the fact that the choices of clergyman and guidance counselor, which were not available to the Danes, accounted for a total of two points in average index scores (.50 and 1.40) in the American student sample.

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[1] The list of problems and the detailed distribution of answers about sources of advice appear in Chapter 9.

[2] Danes do have clergymen, but the choice of clergyman in the context of the question was an extremely unlikely option.

[3] The scores were not pro-rated since we could not justifiably assume that, had the American question been identical to the Danish, the American choices for "clergyman" and "guidance counselor" would have been equally distributed among the remaining five categories of mother, father, sibling, friend or teacher.

These indices represent more reliable assessments of the extent to which adolescents rely upon different persons for advice than the direct question cited above. There is in fact a high correlation between the two data. This can be seen in Table 7-7 which presents the cross-tabulation between the answers to the direct question and the scores on the indices of reliance on mother and on father, respectively. The greater the reliance on parents which the adolescent experiences subjectively, the higher his score on the indices. American adolescents who report that they depend very much on their mother for advice get a score of 3.90 on the index of reliance on mother in contrast to a score of 1.79 for those adolescents who report that they depend very little on her.

4. Affective Relations Between Parent and Child

Overall, adolescents in both countries report feeling very close to their parents. When asked how close they are to their mother (or father) over 50% in both countries report that they are "extremely close" or "quite close." Except in the relationship with the father in the United States, very few adolescents say they are "not close" to a parent. American adolescents feel relatively closer to their mothers than the Danes, and more distant from their fathers (Table 7-1). (As will become apparent later on, adolescents are closer to the same sex parent. See Tables 7-8 and 7-9).

Feelings toward parents appear to be more differentiated in the United States than in Denmark: while Danes feel about the same closeness to both parents, Americans feel less close to their father than

TABLE 7-7

Scores on Indices of Reliance on Mother and Father and Answers to Direct Question about Dependence upon Parents for Advice and Guidance, by Country

	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Depends on Mother				Depends on Mother			
Score on Index of	A little	Quite a bit	Very much	Total	A little	Quite a bit	Very much	Total
Reliance on mother	1.79	2.94	3.90	2.49*	2.06	2.77	3.41	2.56*
Total N	(340)	(293)	(192)	(825)	(394)	(297)	(161)	(852)
	Depends on Father				Depends on Father			
Reliance on father	.56	1.16	1.57	.88*	1.20	1.78	2.09	1.54*
Total N	(471)	(230)	(126)	(827)	(426)	(269)	(151)	(846)

Pass 189/07,08-35P/25A,27B

* Reliance on mother. United States tau-beta = .356 $p < .001$
Denmark tau-beta = .229 $p < .001$
Reliance on father. United States tau-beta = .267 $p < .001$
Denmark tau-beta = .213 $p < .001$

to their mother. Thus, 21% feel very close to their fathers as compared to 33% for the mother. One may conclude therefore, that there is in the United States a tendency for families to develop in which mothers are very close to their children and fathers more distant, a tendency which is not matched in Denmark. But the cross-cultural differences in this respect are small

The cross-tabulation of maternal and paternal closeness within families indicates that among adolescents who feel very close to their mothers, a smaller proportion of the Americans (65%) than of the Danes (74%) also feel very close to their fathers. (Table not presented). Breakdown by the sex of the child does not change these results. In fact, the joint distribution of closeness to mother and father is almost identical in both countries: 41% of American adolescents and 42% of the Danes feel very close to both parents; 28% and 29%, respectively feel distant from both. A very slightly larger proportion in the United States (21%) than in Denmark (16%) feels close to the mother and distant from the father. The same cross-cultural differences appear among boys and girls. In addition, in both countries, more girls than boys fall in the category of close to the mother but distant from the father.

At least one-third of the adolescents say that they enjoy doing many things with their parents. Cross-cultural differences appear in connection with the father but not the mother. More Danish adolescents than American enjoy doing things with their father (Table 7-1). The degree to which adolescents enjoy doing things with their mother is thus the only pattern of interaction which fails to exhibit a cross-cultural difference between adolescents in the United States and Denmark.

5. Modelling of Parents

Adolescents were asked to what extent they would like to be the kind of person each of their parents is. The answers to this question demonstrate again that relatively greater closeness to the mother exists in the United States as compared to Denmark; and relatively greater closeness to the father in Denmark as compared to the United States. The desire to be like the mother is stronger in the United States than in Denmark: 42% of the American adolescents would like to be "in most ways" the kind of person their mother is as compared to 30% of the Danes (Table 7-1). By contrast the desire to be like the father is stronger in Denmark than in the United States.

Some striking cross-cultural differences emerge from the data considered thus far. The most striking concerns the relative degree of self-determination which American and Danish adolescents have in making decisions with their parents about matters of interest to them. Furthermore, the greater self-determination of the Danish adolescent is accompanied by greater consensus between parent and child than in the United States. While Danes feel the same degree of closeness to both parents, American adolescents feel somewhat closer to their mothers than to their fathers.

B. Boys versus Girls

In order to emphasize the cross-cultural differences, the preceding discussion described relationships to parents in general terms and ignored the differences resulting from the sex of the child. We now turn to an examination of the influence of the adolescent's sex on his relationship with his parents. Tables 7-8 and 7-9 present the same data as Table 7-1, but broken down by sex. We will discuss only those variables for which the child's sex does indeed make a difference. The general cross-cultural differences persist among both boys and girls and the present discussion emphasizes the sex differences within families in each country.

Overall one can observe in both countries a somewhat warmer and more intimate contact between children and parents of the same sex than of those of the opposite sex. The differences, in many instances, are small. The sex differences are greater when the adolescents report their own behavior toward their parents than the parents' behavior toward them. Thus, the sexual differences are smallest on the variables of parental authority and parental explanations.

When asked about their mothers, adolescent girls report more frequently than boys that they are likely to talk to their mothers about their problems, feel close to them, depend upon them for advice and guidance, enjoy their company, want to be the same kind of person she is. Parallel differences in favor of boys appear when adolescents are asked about their fathers. These trends concerning the differences between boys and girls when each parent is examined separately are identical in both countries.

Looking now at the behavior of each sex toward both parents, one notes that in both countries, and with respect to each of the family patterns under consideration, girls are closer to their mothers than to their fathers. Boys, however, are not always closer to their fathers than to their mothers. Thus, in both the United States and

TABLE 7-8

Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with MOTHER by Sex in the United States and Denmark

Type of Interaction with MOTHER	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
PARENTAL AUTHORITY[1]						
Authoritarian	46	40‡	18	12***	.001	.001
Democratic	36	43	54	67		
Permissive	18	17	28	21		
Total N	(476)	(507)	(455)	(495)		
COMMUNICATION						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who feel that mother "always" explains her decisions[1]	28	33‡	39	47*	.001	.001
Total N	(472)	(501)	(446)	(491)		
Who talk "most" or "all" their problems with mother[1]	30	51	43	59***	.001	.001
Total N	(469)	(501)	(454)	(492)		
RELIANCE						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who depend "very much" or "quite a bit" on mother for advice and guidance[1]	47	69***	45	62***	n.s.	.05
Total N	(385)	(440)	(401)	(451)		
Score on index of reliance on mother[2]	1.90	3.43	2.04	3.00	n.s.	.01
Total N	(531)	(543)	(465)	(504)		
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who feel "extremely" or "quite close" to mother[1]	60	66‡	50	64***	.01	.001
Total N	(468)	(499)	(451)	(493)		

TABLE 7-8 (continued)

Interaction with MOTHER	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS (cont.)						
Who enjoy doing "many" things with mother[1]	25	44***	24	45***	n.s.	n.s.
Total N	(470)	(470)	(450)	(491)		
MODELLING						
Percent of Adolescents: Who want to be in "most" ways like mother[1]	31	53***	25	35***	.001	.001
Total N	(467)	(501)	(450)	(491)		

[1] Pass 186/01A-14A; Pass 47

[2] Pass 189/05,06

[3] Significance of differences between countries for each pattern among boys and girls, as measured by chi-square.

‡n.s., *=$p < .05$, ***=$p < .001$ (chi-square test for sex differences within each country)

TABLE 7-9

Adolescent's Perceptions of Patterns of Interaction with FATHER by Sex, in the United States and Denmark

Type of Interaction with FATHER	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
PARENTAL AUTHORITY[1]						
Authoritarian	52	54†	36	26***	.001	.001
Democratic	31	27	46	51		
Permissive	17	19	18	23		
Total N	(463)	(492)	(447)	(489)		
COMMUNICATION						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who feel that father "always" explains his decisions[1]	23	19‡	34	31*	.001	.001
Total N	(462)	(492)	(444)	(486)		
Who talk "most" or "all" their problems with father[1]	37	11***	33	19***	.05	.001
Total N	(462)	(490)	(452)	(486)		
RELIANCE						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who depend "very much" or "quite a bit" on father for advice and guidance[1]	46	40‡	56	44*	.05	n.s.
Total N	(387)	(440)	(397)	(449)		
Score on index of reliance on father[2]	1.35	.55	2.00	1.17	.001	.001
Total N	(531)	(543)	(465)	(504)		
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who feel "extremely" or "quite close" to father[1]	56	45***	57	52‡	.05	.001
Total N	(455)	(480)	(451)	(485)		

TABLE 7-9 (continued)

Interaction with FATHER	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		Cross-Cultural Differences[3]	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS (cont.)						
Who enjoy doing "many" things with father[1]	43	25***	49	37***	.05	.001
Total N	(463)	(490)	(451)	(490)		
MODELLING						
Percent of Adolescents:						
Who want to be in "most" ways like father[1]	43	31***	43	29***	.001	.001
Total N	(457)	(480)	(451)	(484)		

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[1] Pass 186/01A-14A; Pass 47

[2] Pass [Same as Table 7-8]

[3] Significance of differences between countries for each pattern among boys and girls, as measured by chi-square.

† n.s., *$p < .05$, ***$p < .001$ (chi-square test for sex differences within each country)

Denmark, boys report that their mothers provide more explanations for their rules than fathers. In Denmark, boys talk more about their problems to their mother than to their fathers while the reverse is true in the United States. In the United States, boys get higher scores of reliance on their mothers than on their fathers while in Denmark the differences between the parents are very small. In both countries, a boy's enjoyment of doing things together with a parent and modelling of the parent is higher for fathers than for mothers.

With respect to parental authority with the exception of the Danish fathers, there is a very slight tendency for parents to be more permissive toward a child of the same sex and more authoritarian toward a child of the opposite sex. Danish fathers, however, act in a more authoritarian fashion toward their sons than toward their daughters. An earlier table (Table 7-3) presented data showing that American girls are subject to many more rules than boys. In Denmark, boys and girls, overall, report the same number of rules. Certain rules are more likely to be applied to girls, others to boys. The sex differences in this respect are identical in both countries: pressures for spending time on homework, against watching T.V., and for eating dinner with the family are more likely to be applied to boys; rules about social activities and contacts with peers, (for instance, the rule about being in at night or about amount of dating), are more likely to be applied to girls than to boys. (Table 7-3)

With respect to sex differences in communication with parents, Tables 7-8 and 7-9 indicate that there is a slight trend for parents to provide more explanations for their decisions to children of the same sex, and for children to bring their problems to the same-sex parent. Girls are more likely than boys to talk "most" or "all" their problems with their mothers, and boys are more likely than girls to talk to their fathers. With the exception of American boys, all children confide more in their mother than in their father.

Similarly, in both countries children indicate greater reliance on the same sex parents. Boys are more likely than girls to seek advice from their fathers, while the reverse is true with respect to the mother.

In the United States, the overall level of closeness is higher for the mother than for the father. But in each country, the child feels closer to the same sex than to the opposite sex parent. In the United States, the largest sex differences appear in connection with the father while in Denmark they appear in connection with the mother. American boys feel closer to their mothers than Danish boys, while Danish girls feel closer to their fathers than American girls.

The enjoyment of doing things with one's parents is highest for children and parents of the same sex. In both countries, girls are more likely to want to be like their mother and boys more apt to favor their father, again indicating strong modelling of the same-sex parent. While there are no cross-cultural differences in the extent to which boys and girls want to model themselves on their fathers, differences appear in relation to the mothers. Stronger differences appear among girls than among boys. The greatest impact of the special role of mother in the two societies seems to be on the American girl, who much more often than the Danish girl wants to grow up to be just like her mother.

In both countries, differential behavior toward each parent is greater among girls than among boys. This can be observed by comparing the differences between the second and fourth columns (the girls' differential reactions to mothers and fathers) with those between the first and third (the boys' differential reactions to mothers and fathers). For instance, scores on indices of reliance illustrate the greater assymmetry that exists in the relationship which girls have with each of their parents as compared to boys. In the United States, girls score 3.43 on the index of reliance on mother and .55 for reliance on father a difference of 2.88 points; boys, on the other hand, have respective scores of 1.90 for mother and 1.35 for father, a difference of .55 points. The differences in Denmark are 1.83 points for girls and .04 points for boys. The Danish differences are in the same direction as in the United States, but are lower in magnitude.

To explore further the differential reaction of boys and girls to their mothers and fathers, all percentaged variables (excluding the indices of reliance) were dichotomized in order to compute percentage differences between the answers for the mother and answers for the father given by boys and girls. The average percentage difference for the seven family variables are 8% for American boys, 23% for American girls, 13% for Danish boys and 19% for Danish girls. These data confirm the trend observed with indices of reliance. There is, in both countries, less differentiation on the basis of the child's sex in parent-child interactions for boys than for girls.

These data illustrate convincingly the fact that while there are strong cross-cultural differences in the ways in which American and Danish adolescents relate to their parents, the sex differences in both countries are similar. In both the United States and Denmark, boys and girls are closer to the same-sex than to the opposite-sex parent. On each of the family patterns, there seems to be greater sex differentiation for girls than for boys.

III. The Training for Independence:

We noted earlier that Danish parents have fewer rules for their children than Americans and less frequently relate to them in an authoritarian manner. Table 7-7, also, shows that there is less association (as measured by tau-beta) among the Danes than among the Americans between the scores on the index of reliance on parents and the answers to the direct question about reliance on parents for advice: the Danes experience subjectively lesser dependence than could be expected on the basis of their index score.

These results are a first indication of the independent nature of the Danish adolescent's relationship with his parents. While he confides in his parents more frequently than the American, at the same time he must also feel that he is independent and has complete autonomy over his actions.

A. The Independence of Danish Adolescents:

A series of findings provides evidence that the Danish adolescent is not only treated more like an adult by his parents but also feels subjectively more independent from them than the Americans.

The feeling of independence from parents expresses itself in a variety of ways. For example, when asked what they would do if their parents were to object to their friends, more Danes than Americans say that they would continue to see these friends. (Table 7-10). The difference between the two countries increases with increasing age, so that at age 18, 73% of the Danes indicate that they would disregard their parents' wishes as compared to 47% of the Americans.

Several expressed attitudes also show the greater experienced independence of Danes as compared to the Americans. Danish adolescents more frequently than Americans believe that they hold opinions different from those of their parents (Table 7-11).[1] More Danes than Americans believe that they are being granted as much freedom from their parents as they think they should have (Table 7-11). Similarly, when asked "Do you feel that your parents should treat you more like an adult than they do at present" about twice as many Americans as Danes reply in the affirmative (Table 7-11), indicating that they believe they are currently being treated more like a child than like an adult.

However, the two items on feeling of freedom and wanting to be treated as an adult can be interpreted in two opposite ways. It can be argued that the adolescent's satisfaction with the degree of freedom granted to him by his parents depends as much upon his subjective definition of how much freedom is enough freedom as upon the actual amount of liberty granted him. Table 7-12 shows that the feeling of freedom does depend upon the actual number of rules in the family. The smaller the number of rules, the stronger the feeling of independence. (Regardless of the number of rules, the majority of adolescents in both cultures report that both parents give him enough freedom.) In order to answer the additional objection that the adolescent who subjectively experiences a great deal of freedom will tend to report fewer rules than the adolescent who feels constrained, the data are presented on the basis of the mother's as well as the adolescent's report of the number of rules in the family. Using the mother's responses allows one to make a clear-cut causal statement since one cannot infer that the child's feeling of freedom influenced the number of rules checked by the mother on her questionnaire. Whether one uses the child's or the mother's report of number of rules, the trends are the same. The smaller the number of rules, the greater the subjective feeling of freedom. This leads us to conclude that the satisfaction expressed by the child is an indicator of the independence with which he is being raised and that

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[1] We will see in Chapter 10 that in fact concordance on values between adolescents and their mothers is of the same low magnitude in the United States and in Denmark.

TABLE 7-10

What Would do if Parents Objected to Friends, by Age and Country

Percent of Adolescents Who Would Continue to See Friends Openly	AGE					
	14	15	16	17	18 & over	Total
UNITED STATES	29	44	40	45	47	44
Total N	(38)	(169)	(335)	(372)	(215)	(1030)
DENMARK*	69	46	55	53	73	53
Total N	(13)	(308)	(311)	(251)	(77)	(949)

* Differences among the different age groups in Denmark significant at .05 level (chi-square test).

TABLE 7-11

Independence from Parents, by Sex and Country

Percent of Adolescents	UNITED STATES Boys	UNITED STATES Girls	UNITED STATES Total	DENMARK Boys	DENMARK Girls	DENMARK Total
Who feel that their opinions are similar to those of their parents	55	60	58*	38	40	39*
Total N	(382)	(440)	(822)	(397)	(446)	(883)
Who feel they get enough freedom from both parents	61	65	63*	80	77	78*
Total N	(391)	(438)	(829)	(404)	(456)	(860)
Who feel their parents should treat them more like adults	65	54	59*	37	28	32*
Total N	(319)	(384)	(703)	(330)	(356)	(686)
Who spend 5-7 evenings at home per week	40	52	47*	36	42	39*
Total N	(377)	(439)	(816)	(397)	(436)	(833)

Passes 24, 150.

* Differences between countries for total sample for each variable significant at $p < .001$ level (chi-square test).

TABLE 7-12

Feeling of Independence and Number of Rules as Perceived by Adolescents and Mothers, by Country

Percent of adolescents who feel that both parents give them enough freedom	Number of Rules					
	Adolescent Perception[1]			Mother Perception[2]		
	0-1	2-3	4 & over	0-1	2-3	4 & over
UNITED STATES	75	63	56	76	66	61
Total N	(197)	(338)	(281)	(71)	(216)	(541)
DENMARK	88	71	63	88	73	74
Total N	(423)	(301)	(127)	(396)	(327)	(131)

[1] Pass 155/07 - United States chi-square significant at .001
Denmark chi-square significant at .001

[2] Pass 183/10 - United States chi-square n.s.
Denmark chi-square significant at $p < .01$

Unweighted effect parameters with rule dichotomized as 0-1 rule - versus 2 and over: effect of country: .115; effect of rule: .175

greater freedom and independence are being granted the adolescent in Denmark than in the United States. Feelings of freedom and of being treated as an adult are very highly correlated, those students who experience just freedom reporting less frequently than others that they wish their parents would treat them more like adults. (Table 7-13) It is also interesting to note, (see Table 7-13), that even among American adolescents who feel they get enough freedom, almost half feel it is given to them in such a way that nevertheless they do not feel they are being treated as adults.

That American parents treat their children as children for a longer period of time than the Danes becomes even more apparent when one examines the responses of different age groups. The distribution of number of rules (whether the adolescent's or the mother's report) appear in Table 7-14 and the percentages of adolescents who say that both parents grant them enough freedom according to the adolescent's age, appear in Table 7-15. In both countries, the number of rules decreases and the proportion of adolescents experiencing adequate freedom increases with increasing age. But the American adolescent is still subject to more rules at the age of 18 than the Dane at 14 years. (Table 7-14) The proportion of adolescents satisfied with the amount of freedom granted them by both parents is at the same level among the 14 year Dane as among the 17 year old American. (Table 7-15) And while 59% of 18 year old Americans say that their parents should treat them more like adults than they presently do, only 18% of 18 year old Danes feel this way. (Table 7-15) It is also interesting to note, with respect to this later variable, that following a sharp drop between the ages of 14 and 15, the proportion of children desiring more adult status remains at a constant level in the United States; in Denmark, this proportion decreases consistently with age. This confirms the general thesis we are trying to develop. There is among Danish parents a tendency to grant autonomy to the child at an earlier age than in the United States and to change continually toward the adolescent during the period of adolescence. In the United States, on the other hand, there seems to be an important change in the early teens and the absence of further change in parental attitude subsequently. This latter conclusion is substantiated by two results in our data: the fact that there is an identical percentage of adolescents wishing to be treated as adults at each age level in the United States (Table 7-15) and that the decline in reported number of rules as the adolescent grows older is sharper among Danish parents than among the Americans. (Table 7-14)

Thus, the pattern of adolescent socialization seems to be different in the United States and Denmark, the Danish adolescents experiencing an increasing degree of independence through his teens while the American appears to remain at a stationary, and less emancipated level.

TABLE 7-13

Parents Should Treat as Adults and Freedom from Parents, by Country

Proportion of Adolescents saying Parents should treat them more as Adults	Freedom from Parents			
	Both Enough	Yes Mother	Yes Father	Neither Enough
UNITED STATES*	48	73	74	84
Total N	(444)	(81)	(38)	(127)
DENMARK*	23	53	60	76
Total N	(537)	(49)	(45)	(55)

Pass 151/01

* United States tau-beta = -.296, $p < .01$

Denmark tau-beta = -.355, $p < .01$

TABLE 7-14

Number of Rules, as Perceived by Adolescents and Mothers and Age, by Country

Number of Rules	Adolescent Perception of Rules[1] AGE 14	15	16	17	18	Mother Perception of Rules[2] AGE 14	15	16	17	18
UNITED STATES										
0-1	11%	22%	21%	27%	32%	-	8%	7%	6%	12%
2-3	46	41	43	40	39	29	19	20	27	30
4 & over	43	37	36	33	29	71	73	73	66	58
Total N	(35)	(143)	(247)	(303)	(175)	(38)	(170)	(338)	(371)	(217)
DENMARK										
0-1	42%	40%	53%	55%	58%	39%	35%	47%	54%	59%
2-3	42	37	34	38	22	40	41	37	38	33
4 & over	16	23	13	7	20	21	24	16	8	8
Total N	(12)	(292)	(297)	(245)	(72)	(13)	(310)	(313)	(256)	(78)

[1] Pass 170/32 United States tau-beta = -.082, $p < .01$
Denmark tau-beta = -.160, $p < .01$

[2] Pass 170/03 United States tau-beta = -.075, $p < .01$
Denmark tau-beta = -.173, $p < .01$

TABLE 7-15

Feelings of Independence and Age, by Country

	AGE				
Percent of Adolescents	14 & under	15	16	17	18 & over
Who feel that both parents give them enough freedom[1]					
UNITED STATES	49	59	54	66	78
Total N	(35)	(131)	(223)	(282)	(155)
DENMARK	66	78	75	82	86
Total N	(12)	(275)	(275)	(225)	(73)
Who say parents should treat them more like adults[2]					
UNITED STATES	72	56	59	59	59
Total N	(29)	(117)	(183)	(232)	(139)
DENMARK	67	35	32	31	18
Total N	(9)	(213)	(212)	(191)	(61)

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[1] Pass 188/11 United States chi-square $p < .001$
151/0203 Denmark chi-square n.s

[2] Pass 151/03 United States tau-beta = .002, n.s.
Denmark tau-beta = .083, $p < .05$

These cross-cultural differences in feeling of independence may result in part from the types of family interactions which adolescents experience in each culture. Indeed, the subjective feeling of freedom from parents is associated with certain family patterns. These patterns in turn, are more frequently reported by Danish adolescents than by Americans. Thus, we noted earlier that the subjective feelings of freedom and of being treated as an adult are inversely related with the number of rules existing in the family. (Table 7-12) Number of rules is itself inversely related to the amount of authority exercised by the parent, the permissive parent having least rules, the authoritarian the most. (See Table 7-4) Finally, the subjective feeling of freedom is enhanced when the child is included in the decision-making process (Table 7-16) or when the mother provides explanations for her decisions. (Data not presented.)

We know from our earlier analysis that Danish families more frequently than the American are characterized by a democratic authority pattern, few parental rules and frequent parental explanations. These cross-cultural differences in family patterns could account for the cross-cultural differences in the adolescents' feeling of independence.

While differences in the number of rules or in the prevalence of the democratic pattern among the two countries account in part for the feeling of independence characteristic of the Danes, they do not by themselves completely explain it. Thus, Table 7-12 illustrates that even when they are subject to the same number of rules, more Danes than Americans are satisfied with the amount of freedom granted them. To evaluate more systematically the relative contribution of cultural background and number of rules to the feeling of independence, Coleman's unweighted effect parameters have been used.[1] The variable of number of rules was dichotomized into

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[1] This multivariate statistic provides an estimate of the effect of the independent variable on a dichotomized dependent variable in a multivariable table. This statistic is computed by taking the difference between the proportions positive on the dependent attribute under conditions of presence and absence of a dichotomous independent attribute. The model can also be used to measure the effects of an independent attribute with three or more classes, either ordered or unordered. In the ordered case, the effect of each category is considered relative to the other below it. The total effect is calculated as the sum of each of the separate effects. Weighting procedures can be carried out to weigh each difference according to the size of the samples on which it is based. (Coleman, 1964) Unweighted parameters are presented here.

TABLE 7-16

Feelings of Independence and Maternal Authority Pattern, by Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Maternal Authority			Maternal Authority		
Feeling of Independence Percent of Adolescents	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
Who feel parents should treat them more like adults[1]	65	50	66*	42	27	40*
Total N	(279)	(289)	(127)	(94)	(420)	(170)
Who feel both parents give them enough freedom[2]	58	70	61*	58	84	77*
Total N	(328)	(344)	(148)	(123)	(527)	(206)

[1] Pass 22/15

[2] Pass 187/03 (143/03)

* chi-square differences significant at .001

the categories of 0-1 rule versus 2 and over. The size of the unweighted effect parameters is .115 for country and .175 for number of rules (as reported by the adolescent). While number of rules has the strongest effect, country still has an effect which is not negligible in comparison.

Similarly, the difference in independence is not explained by the observation that the democratic pattern is more prevalent in Denmark than in the United States. Children with democratic mothers are more likely to feel satisfied with their independence status than others. However, within each pattern, more Americans than Danes are likely to yearn for more adult status, as can be seen in Table 7-16 in which maternal authority has been held constant.

These findings do not invalidate the conclusion that there exists a relationship between number of rules and experienced freedom within individual families. However, the findings do point out that adolescents and their families exist within a larger social and cultural context which exercises its influence beyond that of the family itself.

B. The Consequences of Feeling Independent from Parents:

In both countries, far from leading to estrangement from parents, the enhanced feeling of independence is associated with the adolescent having positive images of his parents and reporting positive relationships with them. Since we are dealing with cross-sectional rather than longitudinal data, definite causal relationships are difficult to establish. However, on the basis of the data presented below, we would suggest that, especially in the United States, the sentiment of being treated as an adult and of begin granted sufficient freedom is associated with more positive feelings toward the parents, closer relationships with them and greater receptivity to their influence. The differences in Denmark are not as large in magnitude as in the United States.

The tables below are based upon the feeling of freedom. The results are the same when one considers the feeling of being treated as an adult. (This is not surprising given the high correlation between the two items.)

Table 7-17 illustrates the strong association that exists between the adolescents' attitudes toward their parents and the feeling of being granted sufficient freedom by both parents. Adolescents who experience sufficient freedom less frequently see their parents as old-fashioned, less frequently report that it is harder to get along with them than it used to be, or report conflicts with their mother or their father than adolescents who yearn for greater freedom. (The item about conflicts is based on an open-ended question which asked the adolescent to list the kinds of things about which he had experienced most conflicts and disagreements with each of his parents over the past year.)

The subjective feeling of freedom is associated also with a more positive assessment by the adolescent of his interactions with his parents. Students who feel they get enough freedom from their parents are more likely to feel extremely close to them, to enjoy doing many things with them, to talk most problems over with them, to want to be like them in many ways. Illustrative data for the mother appear in Table 7-18. The supporting data for the father are not presented.

Certainly, adolescents who feel they receive enough freedom from their parents feel also that they are more open to the influence of their parents. This is illustrated for the mother in Table 7-19. Adolescents who experience adequate independence from their mother are more likely than those who do not to say that they depend upon her for advice and guidance and to get higher scores on the index of reliance on mother. Similarly they are also more likely to report that they would see their friends less often were their parents to object to them.

IV. Discussion and Conclusion:

The principal goal of this chapter has been to describe and compare the patterns of parent-adolescent interactions in the United States and Denmark.

Five general areas of interaction were examined: authority, communication, reliance, affective behavior and modelling. The patterns reported by adolescents in the two countries differ most dramatically in the first two areas: power and communication.

With respect to power, Danish adolescents reach decisions with parents more often than the Americans, and have fewer rules to follow. It seems necessary for the American parents to have rules in order to ensure the continued performance by the adolescent of the appropriate behavior. Danish adolescents, on the other hand, seem to have internalized their parents' demands and to behave appropriately even when they have no rules. Not only do American parents have more rules than Danish parents, but this is particularly true when the adolescent is a girl. Danish parents make much less distinction between the management of boys and girls, whereas American parents are particularly concerned with surveillance or some sort of limiting of the behavior of the girl.

TABLE 7-17

Attitudes toward Parents and Feelings of Independence, by Country

	Freedom from Parents							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
Percent of Adolescents	Both	Mother	Father	Neither	Both	Mother	Father	Neither
Who say it is harder for them to get along with their parents[1]	29	32	55	53***	26	41	49	44***
Total N	(520)	(99)	(47)	(154)	(668)	(66)	(53)	(64)
Who feel that their parents are old-fashioned[1]	17	33	32	55***	14	36	28	56***
Total N	(522)	(99)	(47)	(157)	(669)	(67)	(53)	(64)
Who mention one or more specific conflicts with mother during the past year[2]	68	74	81	81*	57	62	78	86***
Who mention one or more specific conflicts with father during the past year[2]	59	69	70	67*	42	71	48	78***
Total N	(525)	(100)	(47)	(157)	(673)	(68)	(54)	(65)

[1] Pass 189/10A,12A-Pass 151/13,14.

[2] Pass 182/01,12

* Differences within each country significant at .05 (chi-square test)

*** Differences within each country significant at .001 (chi-square test)

TABLE 7-18

Patterns of Interaction with Mother and Feeling of Independence, by Country

Percent of Adolescents	Gets Enough Freedom from Mother[1]			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Who talk most problems with mother	48	19	54	32
Total N	(620)	(201)	(739)	(118)
Who enjoy doing many things with mother	43	15	37	24
Total N	(620)	(201)	(734)	(117)
Who feel extremely close to mother	37	16	26	5
Total N	(621)	(201)	(739)	(116)
Who want to be like mother	50	18	34	16
Total N	(619)	(201)	(736)	(116)

Pass 187/05-08 - Pass 143

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[1] Answers to question St.413 were combined into the following two categories:
yes= yes, both do, mother does
no = father does, neither does
All chi-square differences between "yes" and "no" within each country significant at .001.

TABLE 7-19

Parental Influence and Feeling of Independence by Country

Percent of Adolescents	Gets Enough Freedom from Mother			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Who depend very much upon mother for advice[1]	28	9	20	8
Total N	(616)	(203)	(733)	(118)
Index of reliance on mother[1]	2.93	2.07	2.68	1.95
Total N	(621)	(203)	(737)	(119)
Who would see friends less if mother objected to them[2]	55	37	41	34
Total N	(621)	(204)	(728)	(116)

[1] Pass 187/13,16 - Pass 143

[2] Pass 188/12 - Pass 147/30

All chi-square differences between "yes" and "no" within each country significant at least at the .05 level.

With respect to communication, we find on the one hand that Danish parents provide more explanations for their rules and decisions than the American and on the other hand that Danish children are more likely to discuss their problems with their mother than the Americans.

With respect to reliance, American adolescents are slightly more likely than the Danes to depend upon their mother for advice and guidance, the Danes are slightly more likely than the Americans to depend upon their father. In both countries, mothers are relied upon more than fathers.

With respect to affective relations, American adolescents feel closer to their mother than the Danes. More Danish than American adolescents enjoy doing various things with their fathers; no differences appear concerning the mother.

With respect to modelling of parents, American adolescents are more likely than Danes to want to be the same kind of person as their mother and more likely to reject their father.

From these data, one gets the feeling that the family in Denmark is more frequently an equalitarian one as compared to the United States, while the American one is more often authoritarian and matriarchal.

A stronger rapport between parent-child pairs of the same sex than between cross-sex pairs exists in both countries, but especially in the United States.

A most striking cross-cultural difference appears around the issue of independence. Danish adolescents have a strong subjective sense of their independence from parental influence: they feel they would disregard their parents' wishes about not seeing friends, they feel their opinions are different from those of their parents, they feel indeed that they are being treated like adults by their parents and get sufficient freedom from their parents more frequently than the Americans.

In both countries the feeling of independence is related to positive images of the parents and positive reported interactions with them.

The findings of this study concerning the characteristics of parent-adolescent interactions in American and Danish families were quite unexpected. We expected the European family to be much more controlling of its adolescent than the American. The reverse seems to be true.

The inescapable conclusion one is led to is that in the United States parents treat their adolescents as children longer than in Denmark. Danish adolescents are expected to be self-governing; American adolescents are not. One can speculate about conditions in the two countries which lead to these differences in family structure. It may be a consequence of the fact that children in the United States remain in school longer than in Denmark. They are not expected to make adult decisions as quickly as the Danes. Yet, at the same time American children have more money, they are more exposed to pressures to spend these in consumption in adult ways than the Danes. The parents having delayed the adulthood training, that is the children's self-discipline, are faced in the United States with adolescents who are in fact more dependent on them yet have the opportunity to do more things independently. We would suggest that children in the United States are subject to a delayed socialization pattern, both in terms of autonomy from parental control as an adolescent and perhaps discipline as an earlier child. We would hypothesize that as young children Danes are subject to stronger discipline than the Americans. The discipline exercised at an early age creates a child who as an adolescent is far more disciplined, and one who as a consequence, the parent can afford to give freedom to.

Chapter 8

The Internal Structure of Families

The single most important cross-cultural difference in patterns of parent-adolescent interactions between the United States and Denmark appeared with respect to parental authority. In decision-making involving the adolescent, the Danish parent is much more likely than the American to give an active role to the child. As we saw when we attempted to explain cross-cultural difference in number of rules or frequency of talking problems over with parents, the parental authority pattern is intimately related to some of the other parent-child relationships. It is the major aim of this Chapter to trace the concomitants and consequences of differences in parental authority patterns in the two countries. We will find, in effect, that the implications of authority are the same in both countries. But, it should be kept in mind, of course, that in Denmark more families operate on a democratic principle and in the United States more families operate on an authoritarian principle.

In addition to its focus on patterns of decision-making, this Chapter extends the study of families in the United States and Denmark by investigating systematically the interrelationship among the various adolescent-parent patterns within families and by going on to examine interactions between husbands and wives.

Thus, this Chapter addresses itself to the following questions:

(1) What relation does authority bear to the other patterns of parent-adolescent interaction?

(2) How effective are different types of authority as forms of parental control over the adolescent?

(3) What is the crucial component of parental authority?

(4) What kinds of configurations exist among the various dimensions of parent-adolescent interactions in the United States and Denmark?

(5) What is the nature of selected patterns of marital interaction and what relation do they bear to parental authority?

(6) Finally, in a methodological section of relevance to this Chapter and to the preceding one, we examine the degree of concordance between mother's and adolescent's perception of family patterns.

I. Parental Authority Patterns and Other Parent-Adolescent Relationships:

This section investigates the association of authority in the parent-adolescent relationship to the other dimensions of parent-child interactions discussed in the preceding chapter.

Little previous research bears directly on this issue, although there are many studies that have investigated the implications of parental power for the child. The first thing to note is that the term parental power itself has been defined and measured in many different ways. As Elder (1962) points out,

> In research on the child rearing process, families have often been classified as authoritarian, democratic, equalitarian, or permissive. The referrent for these classifications has been parental attitudes or ideology in child rearing, the child rearing practices of parents, the personality of parents, the husband-wife power structure, or the parent-child authority structure.(p. 241)

Most studies (cf. Becker, 1964) focus upon type of parental discipline and not on type of decision-making between the parent and the child.

Second, the focus of these studies has been more psychological in nature than sociological. And the studies with a sociological focus have not examined the internal structure of the parent-child interactions as much as the determinants in the society at large of the parents' behavior. Thus, there is a strong tradition of research on the relationship of social class to the type of parental discipline of the child. (cf. Kohn, 1959a, b, 1963; Kohn and Carroll, 1964.) The studies with a psychological focus have examined the determinants in the parents' personalities of different types of parental authority or the personality consequences for the child of these different patterns (e.g., Hart, 1957). The latter category includes studies on personality traits of children (Watson, 1957), their achievement motivation and academic achievement (Hoffman, 1960; Morrow and Wilson, 1961; Strodtbeck,1958), or their relationships with their peers (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Hoffman, Rosen and Lippitt, 1960).[1]

Thirdly, most studies have studied a younger age group than the one represented in this study.[2] The general assumption shared by investigators in the field, even by those who study adolescents, is that parental behavior remains more or less constant through time and that the same patterns characterize the parent's behavior toward his young child and toward that same child when an adolescent. This assumption is questionable. There are very few longitudinal studies of parental behavior. The results from the Berkeley Growth Study indicate that there is a certain amount of consistency for boys but no correlation at all for girls in the behavior of the mother toward her child at a young age with her behavior at adolescence (Bayley and Schaeffer, 1960).

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[1] These studies will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 9.

[2] Exceptions are Bronfenbrenner (1961), Morrow and Wilson (1961) and Stone and Landis (1953).

Elder (1962, 1963) did investigate the issue under study here the implications of parental decision-making patterns for other dimensions of parent-child interaction. He found that both boys and girls are more likely to identify with the parent they perceive as democratic (Elder, 1963) and that, again for both sexes, affection toward both parents is related to authority pattern in a curvilinear fashion (Elder, 1962). Adolescents feel closest to parents they perceive as democratic and most distant from the authoritarian and the permissive. Thus, he did not find a sex difference in the effects of authority patterns. Other investigators who have focused on the psychological consequences of authority patterns have found such differences. Bronfenbrenner (1961) writes in a review of his own research on the familial antecedents of responsibility and leadership in adolescents that

> The most striking and consistent feature of our results was the contrasting pattern of relationships for the two sexes...both extremes of either affection or discipline were deleterious for all children, but that process of socialization entailed somewhat different risks for the two sexes. Girls are especially susceptible to the detrimental influence of over-protection; boys to the ill effects of insufficient parental discipline and support.(p. 32)

Despite Elder's findings, in this study the relationship of parental authority to the other family patterns will be examined separately for boys and for girls.

The dimensions of family life which we distinguish in addition to authority include the amount of communication between parent and adolescent, the adolescent's reliance on his parents for advice, the affective quality of the relationship and modelling of parents, all as reported by the adolescent.

In contrast to the strong cross-cultural differences observed in the distribution of family patterns (as discussed in Chapter 7) the relationships of authority to the other family patterns follow identical trends in both the United States and Denmark.

Both with respect to mother and father, the adolescent is more likely to report positive interactions on each family pattern if he perceives that parental authority is democratic rather than authoritarian or permissive. In almost every way, democratic family structures imply a more open, more trusting, warmer and undoubtedly better relationship between the adolescents and their parents.

TABLE 8-1

Maternal Authority and Other Dimensions of Interaction with Mother, by Sex and Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Maternal Authority			Maternal Authority		
Percent of Adolescents	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
COMMUNICATION						
Who feel their mother "always" explain her decisions[1]						
Boys	19	40	26	28	47	30
Girls	20	44	33	24	53	40
Who talk over "most" or "all" their problems with their mother[1]						
Boys	28	42	14	45	53	25
Girls	42	67	31	41	66	46
RELIANCE						
Who depend "very much" or "quite a bit" on their mother for advice and guidance[1]						
Boys	45	55	34	51	50	33
Girls	64	83	44	54	68	45
Score on index of reliance on mother[2]						
Boys	1.94	1.98	1.50	1.97	2.25	1.74
Girls	3.35	3.76	2.67	3.31	3.08	2.63
AFFECTIVE RELATIONS						
Who feel "extremely" or "quite" close to mother[1]						
Boys	61	65	46	52	58	33
Girls	57	81	43	63	80	46
Who enjoy doing things with mother						
Boys- many	27	28	13	25	30	13
quite a few	35	47	33	43	42	34

TABLE 8-1 (continued)

Percent of Adolescents	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Maternal Authority			Maternal Authority		
	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
Affective Relations (cont.)						
Girls- many	34	57	37	48	51	26
quite a few	38	36	30	39	42	36
MODELLING						
Who would like to be the kind of person their mother is in						
Boys- most ways	33	33	20**	28	27	22#
many ways	22	30	18	38	43	34
Girls- most ways	47	64	37	31	39	25
many ways	18	18	19	29	44	36
Boys Total N=	(210)	(172)	(86)	(76)	(245)	(125)
Girls Total N=	(201)	(217)	(82)	(59)	(328)	(103)

[1] Pass 24/1-4, 14

[2] Pass 35P/18, 18A. Pass 189/15
All differences among authority patterns within each country significant at .001 (chi-square test) except when specified otherwise.

[#] not significant

[*] significant at .05

[**] significant at .01

TABLE 8-2

Paternal Authority and Other Dimensions of Interaction with Father, by Sex and Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Paternal Authority			Paternal Authority		
Percent of Adolescents	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
COMMUNICATION						
Who feel their father "always" explain his decisions[1]						
Boys	18	35	16	30	41	27
Girls	11	33	19	21	42	20
Who talk over their problems with their father[1]						
Boys- most or all	40	40	25	29	42	20
some	26	37	22			
Girls- most or all	7	19	6	7	29	12
some	22	38	14	41	43	27
RELIANCE						
Who depend "very much" or "quite a bit" on their father for advice and guidance[1]						
Boys	45	62	23	64	58	35
Girls	36	62	23	44	57	19
Score on index of reliance on father[2]						
Boys	1.48	1.33	.85	2.14	2.12	1.52
Girls	.53	.71	.29	1.31	1.31	.74
AFFECTIVE QUALITY						
Who feel "extremely" or "quite" close to father[1]						
Boys	57	68	32	63	58	41*
Girls	37	68	34	46	63	36
Who enjoy doing things with father[1]						
Boys	43	52	27	49	57	29
Girls	19	40	19	34	48	18

TABLE 8-2 (continued)

Percent of Adolescents	UNITED STATES Paternal Authority Authoritarian	 Democratic	 Permissive	DENMARK Paternal Authority Authoritarian	 Democratic	 Permissive
MODELLING						
Who would like to be the kind of person their father is in						
Boys- most ways	46	46	29	46	44	37*
many ways	21	28	16	32	38	27
Girls- most ways	27	40	28	27	36	18
many ways	18	26	12	43	45	37
Boys Total N=	(240)	(142)	(77)	(157)	(202)	(82)
Girls Total N=	(263)	(133)	(93)	(122)	(247)	(114)

[1] Pass 188; Pass 24B

[2] Pass 35P/22B

All differences among authority patterns within each country significant at .001 (chi-square test) except when specified otherwise.

* significant at .05

Tables 8-1 and 8-2 show that when an adolescent in either country reports that his (or her) mother or father is democratic, he.is

Concerning communication:

more likely to feel that his mother and father "always" explain their decisions to him.

more likely to feel that he can talk over "most or all" his problems with his mother and his father.

Concerning reliance on his parents:

more likely to say that he depends "quite a bit" or "very much" on his mother or father for advice and guidance.

more likely to get a high score on the index of reliance on his mother or father.

Concerning the affective quality of the interactions:

more likely to feel "quite" or "extremely" close to his mother or father.

more likely to enjoy doing "many" things with his mother or father.

Concerning modelling:

more likely to want to be the kind of person his mother and father are in "most ways."

In both countries, the interrelationship of authority to the other family variables follows more uniform patterns for girls than for boys. Boys, like girls, are most distant from parents they perceive as permissive. Among boys, however, the differences between the authoritarian and the democratic patterns are often attenuated and sometimes the authoritarian pattern leads to more positive interactions than the democratic. This is particularly true as concerns the father.[1] The areas of boys' interaction with their mothers, in which the differences between the authoritarian and the democratic pattern are reduced, include modelling (the boy's desire to be the same kind of person as his mother),[2] affective quality (his enjoyment of doing things with her and the degree of closeness he feels toward her), the score of reliance on his mother for advice and guidance (in the United States only) or how much he subjectively feels he can depend upon her for advice (in Denmark).

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[1] These sex differences are more in accord with Bronfenbrenner's findings than with Elder's.

[2] Elder (1963) found that boys like girls were more likely to identify with the parents they perceived to be democratic. The discrepancy between his findings and ours may be due to the differences between Elder's definitinns of types of parental authority and the definitions used in the present study (discussed in Ch. 7, p.10).

As regards the boy's perceptions of the father, there are instances in which the differences between the democratic and the authoritarian pattern are not only attenuated but in which the authoritarian pattern leads to more positive behavior by the son toward the father than the democratic. Thus, in the United States, boys who perceive their fathers as authoritarian show a higher index of reliance on the father than boys with democratic fathers. In Denmark, the authoritarian pattern is more likely than the democratic or the permissive to be associated with closeness between father and son and to the son's experiencing that he can depend upon his father for advice.

Children with permissive mothers or fathers are least likely to give positive responses on the other dimensions of family life, with the exception of frequency of maternal explanations. Permissive parents provide more explanations than the authoritarians, although they provide fewer explanations than democratic parents. In all other respects, the permissive pattern leads to most distance between parent and child. The democratic pattern leads most often to greatest closeness.

Boys and girls react somewhat differently to each parent. In both countries, girls react more positively than boys to a democratic pattern in the mother and boys react more positively than girls to an authoritarian pattern in the father. This can be seen from examining Tables 8-1 and 8-2 and the percentage differences displayed below. The percentage differences in positive answers to family patterns between boys and girls were averaged across all family patterns listed on the left in Tables 8-1 and 8-2 for each of the types of maternal and paternal authority patterns. Positive differences indicate that girls feel closer to the parent than boys; negative differences that they feel less close to the parent than boys. These average percentage differences are displayed below.
In both countries the largest differences in favor of boys appear when father is authoritarian and in favor of girls when the mother is democratic.

Average Percentage Differences Between Boys' and Girls' Positive Responses Across Family Patterns, by Parental Authority and Country*

	Maternal Authority			Paternal Authority		
	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
United States	6%	20%	11%	-16%	-5%	-4%
Denmark	2%	9%	8%	-16%	-7%	-11%

*Positive differences indicate that girls feel closer to the parent than boys; negative differences that they feel less close than boys. Based on Tables 8-1 and 8-2.

While no cross-cultural differences appear for the father, some differences appear for the mother. In the United States, having a democratic mother seems to make more difference for a girl as compared to boys than it does in Denmark. Looking at Table 8-1, we see that it leads to more verbal interaction, greater closeness, greater reliance and greater desire to be the same kind of person as the mother in the United States than in Denmark.

The striking aspect of these results is the remarkable similarity that appears in the United States and in Denmark in the relationship which authority pattern bears to the other family variables, and in the instances in which this relationship is consistent or inconsistent. Authority pattern is always related in the curvilinear fashion to the other family variables in the case of girls in both countries. The difference between the authoritarian and the democratic patterns are very much reduced in the case of boys in both countries.[1] Generally, children of democratic parents feel closer to their parents than children with authoritarian or permissive parents. However, the difference in closeness between democratic and authoritarian parents for the girls is greater than this difference for boys.

Certainly, in both countries, boys and girls who perceive their parents to be democratic have a more positive image of their parents than others. Adolescents were asked several questions about how they felt about their parents. Since these questions do not differentiate between mother and father, we have examined the implication of the joint maternal and paternal authority patterns on these attitudes. We restricted the analysis to intact families in which both parents shared a particular authority pattern. As shown in Table 8-3 adolescents who perceive both their parents to be democratic are least likely to feel

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[1] Type of authority pattern, as determined by our questions, ranges on a continuum of parental participation in the decision-making process, from most participation (in the authoritarian pattern) to joint participation (democratic pattern) to least participation (permissive pattern). However, authority pattern is related in a curvilinear fashion to most of the interactional variables which we have examined. It should be noted, however, that the authoritarian pattern is linearly related, among both boys and girls, to other indicators of parental control. We saw in the preceding chapter (Table 7-4) that the number of rules is highest in authoritarian families and lowest in permissive ones. Similarly, the greater the degree of authority, the greater the parental pressure on the child to do well in school. Thus, in the United States, 59% of the students who perceive their mother to be authoritarian report much pressure from their mother to do well in school as compared to 48% of the democratic or 38% of the permissive. Comparable percentages are obtained in Denmark. The same trends appear in both countries regarding the relation of paternal authority to paternal pressure (Pass 188/37-38).

TABLE 8-3

Attitudes Toward Parents and Joint Parental Authority Pattern, by Sex

	Joint Parental Authority Pattern					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
Percent of Adolescents	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
Who feel that most of their opinions are different from those of their parents						
Boys	41	33	61*	74	52	74*
Total N	(116)	(76)	(36)	(50)	(143)	(61)
Girls	47	15	40*	86	47	71*
Total N	(127)	(87)	(38)	(29)	(196)	(58)
Who feel quite often that their parents are old-fashioned						
Boys	31	23	26	35	20	36*
Total N	(130)	(83)	(38)	(55)	(156)	(66)
Girls	36	7	32*	18	5	28*
Total N	(137)	(91)	(41)	(33)	(212)	(65)

Pass 190/05,09.

*Differences among authority patterns within each country and for each sex significant at .05 level (chi-square test).

that they hold opinions that differ from their parents or to think that their parents are old-fashioned. As we saw in Chapter 7, adolescents who perceive both parents as democratic also are more satisfied with the amount of freedom that they have from their parents (7-16).

In contrast to the data on interaction patterns (Tables 8-1 and 8-2) children of perceived permissive parents do not hold less positive attitudes toward their parents than children of authoritarian parents. Although, once again, American boys who view their parents as permissive feel most strongly that their opinions differ from their parents.

The finding of greatest communication with and closeness to democratic parents and most distance from the permissive is in accord with empirical findings from other family studies and experimental studies of small group behavior (Lewin, Lippitt and White, 1938). Elder (1962) asked the adolescents in his study whether they felt unwanted by their parents. The highest proportion replying in the affirmative for both parents (57%) was found among adolescents who perceived their parents as laissez-faire, and the next largest (41%) among those whose parents were defined as autocratic. Elder (1962) cites an earlier study by Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese (1945) suggesting that parents can reject their children in two ways, either by controlling them tightly or by ignoring them. Certainly, the same conclusions emerge from our data. We also find a sex difference in that the democratic pattern is more beneficial for girls than for boys and the authoritarian more beneficial for boys than for girls (although, even for boys, the democratic pattern is superior to the autocratic).

II. Authority Pattern and Parental Control:

We noted in Chapter 7 that the authoritarian parent has many more rules for his child than either the democratic or the permissive. Is the authoritarian parent more successful than other parents in enforcing these rules to gain compliance from the adolescent? Are the parents' wishes more likely to be followed by adolescents when parents are authoritarian than when they are democratic?

The answer is negative. The evidence for this is twofold and derives from: (1) the adolescent's subjective report of whether he acts according to his parents' wishes and (2) a more objective evaluation of how his behavior, in certain areas, complies with the rules that parents have for him.

The subjective evaluation by the adolescent would indicate that the most effective form of parental control over the child is the democratic, especially among girls. The adolescents were asked what they would do if their parents were to object to some of their friends: would they continue to see them openly, would they see them secretly or would they see their friends less? Since the question asked about parents in general, the joint mother and father authority pattern was considered. As shown in Table 8-4, the largest proportion reporting that they would see their friends less appears among adolescent girls who perceive both parents as democratic; the smallest proportion appears among boys and girls who perceive their parents as permissive. For boys, in Denmark, no difference appears between the authoritarian and democratic patterns;

TABLE 8-4

What Would Adolescent Do if Parents Objected to Friends by Joint Authority Pattern, by Sex and Country

	Joint Parental Authority Pattern					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
Adolescent would see friends	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
BOYS						
Less	54%	49%	33%	41%	41%	19%
Secretly	5	1	2	10	5	7
Openly	41	50	64	49	54	74
Total N	(153)	(90)	(42)	(63)	(161)	(68)
GIRLS						
Less	55%	71%	45%	47%	55%	22%
Secretly	5	1	7	12	2	6
Openly	40	28	48	41	43	72
Total N	(148)	(96)	(42)	(32)	(210)	(68)

Pass 190/11

All differences among authority patterns for each sex and within each country significant at .01 level (chi-square test) in the United States, there is a slight suggestion that the authoritarian patterns may be slightly more effective than the democratic. The previously noted cultural difference[1] between the two countries persists: in almost each of the family types, more Danish children than American would continue to see their friends, this despite the fact that the democratic pattern of power exchange between parent and child is the modal one in Denmark, and is more common than in the United States. This cross-cultural effect is especially pronounced among boys who are treated in an authoritarian manner by their parents, many more such American than Danish boys would comply with their parents' wishes. For girls, the effect is more pronounced for those who are treated democratically or permissively by their parents; many more such American girls than Danish girls would comply with their parents' wishes. These cross-cultural sex differences follow the trends that were mentioned earlier in this chapter. As compared to Danish boys, American boys are more responsive to an authoritarian pattern; as compared to Danish girls, American girls are more responsive to a democratic pattern.

Under conditions of authoritarian or permissive parental authority, adolescents are more likely to rebel against parental wishes. Since each of these patterns is more frequent in the United States than in Denmark, we would expect more rebelliousness in the United States. Yet, we do not find it, except in the one case of boys with permissive mothers. A possible explanation for this might be that giving up friends is more difficult in Denmark than in the United States. The implications of family structure seem to be the same in the two societies, but in this one respect they differ. This could mean that the meaning of friendship is different in the two societies. Attachments to friends might be stronger in Denmark than in the United States. A particular reason for thinking that this is the case is that in the Danish school system, children are with the same group all the way through, and in some cases from elementary through secondary school, whereas the American system treats child more as individuals, sending each to pursue his own program.

In an analysis of the same question, Elder (1963) also found that adolescents were most likely to say that they would stop seeing their friends under conditions of joint democratic parental power. In contrast to the findings here, adolescent boys in Elder's study were more receptive to the joint democratic than to the joint authoritarian pattern. The discrepancy between the two studies may be accounted for by the fact that Elder's definitions of authority patterns are somewhat different from ours. He includes in the democratic category a type of parent we include in the authoritarian.[2] Elder (1963) examined the relationship between authority pattern and compliance to the parents' wishes controlling for frequency of parental explanations. He found that adolescents were most likely to say that they would stop seeing their friends when their parents were democratic and also explained their rules frequently (Table 3, p. 59). Variations in compliance by degree of power were particularly pronounced upon conditions of infrequent explanations. Frequency of explanation made least difference in the democratic pattern. Elder (1963) concludes that "as structural asymmetry increases in parent-child relations toward either autocratic control or permissiveness, obedience to paternal rules becomes increasingly contingent on explanatory efforts by parents". (p. 60) Similar findings are obtained in this study. Table 8-5 shows that, at each intensity of maternal power, adolescent boys and girls in the United States and adolescent girls in Denmark are most likely to act in accordance with the parents' wishes when the mother provides many explanations than when she provides few.[1] Among Danish boys, no differences appear between high and low explaining democratic mothers. Among Danish girls, no differences appear between high and low explaining permissive mothers. As Elder, we find that variations in compliance by degree of power are particularly pronounced under conditions of infrequent explanations for boys and girls in Denmark, and for girls in the United States. For American boys, by contrast, the opposite is true. The effect of authority is particularly important under conditions of frequent explanations. This suggests that American boys require more constraints than other adolescents to adopt their parents' rules. It would seem that American boys require not only high justifications for the parents' rules but also very strong controls and limits on the part of their parents in order for them to carry out their parents' wishes.

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[1] See Chapter 7, Table 7-10.

[2] We discussed this point in Chapter 7 (footnote 1, p. 10) when we pointed out that we restrict our democratic category to the answer "We make the decision jointly," while Bowerman and Elder include the following two items, "I have considerable opportunity to make my own decision, but my mother/father has the final word" and "My opinions are as important as my mother's/father's in deciding what I should do."

The effectiveness of the different authority patterns does not vary according to the age of the child. (Data not presented.)

While the child's subjective report suggests that the democratic pattern is the most effective form of parental control, findings based on an independent assessment of the child's compliance with his mother's wishes are inconclusive. The mother's typical power relation to her child seems to have little influence on the degree of success she encounters in leading her child to behave in accordance with the rule she has laid out for him. We discussed in Chapter 7 the relationship between the existence of a family rule in a particular area and the adolescent's behavior in that area. Three such areas were investigated.

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[1] We do not present the data for the joint parental authority patterns and joint frequency of explanations for the number of cases in many of the cells is very small. But the same general trend appears. In each joint authority pattern, frequency of explanation increases the adolescent's compliance with the parents' wishes.

TABLE 8-5

What Would Adolescent do if Parents Objected to Friends by Maternal Authority Patterns and Explanation for Rules, by Sex and Country

Percent of Adolescents Who Would See Their Friends Less	Maternal Authority and Frequency of Explanations					
	Authoritarian		Democratic		Permissive	
	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.
UNITED STATES						
Boys	58	44*	48	42	28	23
Total N	(112)	(98)	(128)	(43)	(46)	(40)
Girls	61	44*	69	61	55	26*
Total N	(95)	(106)	(172)	(44)	(49)	(31)
DENMARK						
Boys	39	31	41	44	28	19
Total N	(49)	(26)	(209)	(32)	(92)	(32)
Girls	56	29	53	40	19	21
Total N	(34)	(24)	(287)	(35)	(74)	(29)

Pass 189/18; 232/01
* $p < .05$ (chi-square test)

Since the authoritarian pattern has somewhat different implications for boys and girls in both countries, the effect of authority was considered separately for boys and girls.

In both countries, there appears to be a slight tendency for the democratic pattern to be more effective among girls with respect to the two rules which deal with regulation of expenditure of time.(Table 8-6) Except for the case where Danish girls have a rule about homework, the differences are very slight and none are statistically significant. With respect to the third rule, that about going steady, the authoritarian pattern seems to be more effective than the democratic or the permissive for both boys and girls in the United States and for girls in Denmark. However, the greater tendency for children of democratic mothers to do more homework is also observed in those families in which the mother has no rule about homework; there is a relationship between authority pattern and amount of homework that is independent of whether or not the mother has a rule about homework.(Data not presented) In the case of going steady, the effect of parent authority on carrying out the desired behavior is apparent only when the parent has a specific rule about not going steady.

Therefore, we conclude that, while the authoritarian parent has more rules than other parents, he is not necessarily more effective in getting his child to do what he wishes. From the adolescent's subjective perspective, the democratic parent seems in this respect to be the most effective.

III. Crucial Component of Authority Pattern:

What is it about the democratic pattern of parental authority that produces the associations we observed with other patterns of parent-child interaction? The answer seems to be mainly that democratic parents provide more explanations for their decisions and rules than other types of parents and that children with democratic parents feel closer to their parents. We have noted that parental power is very highly related to the frequency of parental explanation and to the child's experienced closeness to his parents (Tables 8-1 and 8-2). Frequency of parental explanations and adolescent closeness to parents are themselves highly intercorrelated and highly related to many of the family variables we have been examining, such as communication with parents, reliance on parents for advice and guidance, and modelling of parents. Matrices of intercorrelations of selected family items by sex of parent and sex of child are presented in Table 8-7A for the United States and Table 8-7B for Denmark. The intercorrelations are high, identical in both countries and with respect to both parents. The greater the frequency of parental explanations, the greater the likelihood of the adolescent talking problems over with his parents and depending upon his parents for advice. For example, the association between maternal explanation and talking problems over with mother, as measured by Tau-beta, is .263 for boys and .327 for girls in the United States and .365 and .330 in Denmark. Similarly, in both countries, the closer the adolescent feels to his parents, the more likely is he to bring his problems

TABLE 8-6

Compliance With Parents' Rules on Three Issues and Type of Maternal Authority, by Sex and Country

Behavior of Adolescents When Parents Have Rule	Maternal Authority					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive	Authoritarian	Democratic	Permissive
% watching T.V. 1 hour or less						
Boys	38	42	25	40	40	44
Total N	(42)	(31)	(12)	(15)	(25)	(9)
Girls	40	47	46	10	38	(4)
Total N	(25)	(34)	(13)	(10)	(24)	(6)
% doing Homework 2 hours or more						
Boys	24	26	30	25	25	28
Total N	(80)	(53)	(20)	(36)	(67)	(36)
Girls	25	33	13	29	71	31*
Total N	(64)	(55)	(16)	(17)	(62)	(16)
% not going steady						
Boys	91	63	(5)	(1)	67	--
Total N	(23)	(16)	(7)	(4)	(9)	(5)
Girls	78	63	47	60	46	53
Total N	(40)	(35)	(19)	(10)	(39)	(17)

Pass 190/01,02,03

*$p < .05$

TABLE 8-7A

Intercorrelations* of Selected Parent-Adolescent Interaction Variables for Mother and Father, by Sex of Adolescent in the UNITED STATES

BOYS

Intercorrelations for Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations for Father Items Below Diagonal

	Explanation	Talking	Depending	Closeness	Be Like
Explanation		.263	.141	.215	.182
Talking	.360		.373	.400	.336
Depending	.284	.459		.373	.304
Closeness	.301	.454	.419		.374
Be Like	.218	.380	.305	.487	

GIRLS

Intercorrelations for Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations for Father Items Below Diagonal

	Explanation	Talking	Depending	Closeness	Be Like
Explanation		.327	.291	.349	.320
Talking	.323		.553	.525	.445
Depending	.309	.413		.534	.431
Closeness	.358	.415	.489		.526
Be Like	.325	.394	.339	.467	

Passes 163; 184

The top half of each table represents intercorrelations among mother itmes and the bottom half intercorrelations among father items.

* As measured by Tau-beta. All significant at .05 level or above.

TABLE 8-7B

Intercorrelations* of Selected Parent-Adolescent Interaction Variables for Mother and Father, by Sex of Adolescent in DENMARK

BOYS

Intercorrelations for Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations for Father Items Below Diagonal

	Explanation	Talking	Depending	Closeness	Be Like
Explanation		.365	.217	.182	.175
Talking	.337		.266	.231	.320
Depending	.178	.265		.411	.302
Closeness	.213	.277	.376		.406
Be Like	.232	.305	.244	.457	

GIRLS

Intercorrelations for Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations for Father Items Below Diagonal

	Explanation	Talking	Depending	Closeness	Be Like
Explanation		.330	.241	.258	.274
Talking	.354		.328	.254	.268
Depending	.238	.362		.427	.307
Closeness	.274	.365	.391		.459
Be Like	.267	.335	.329	.468	

Passes 163;184

The top half of each table represents intercorrelations among mother items and the bottom half intercorrelations among father items.

* As measured by Tau-beta. All significant at .05 level or above.

to them and to depend upon them for advice and guidance (Tables 8-7A and 8-7B). However, closeness to parents is itself highly related to the frequency of explanations received from parents. The greater the amount of communication from parent to child, the closer the child feels to his parent (Tables 8-7A and 8-7B).

The question therefore arises as to what is the respective role played by parental explanations and closeness to parents in the observed associations of parental authority to other dimensions of parent-child interactions. In order to answer this question, we examined the relationship of parental authority to these other family variables, alternately holding constant frequency of explanations and closeness. The cross-tabulations indicate that, with the exception of permissive parents, each of these variables, considered separately, seems to explain much of the effect of parent authority on:

- talking problems over with parents
- depending upon them for advice
- enjoying doing things with them
- wanting to be the kind of person the parent is
- and on each other: closeness on explanation and explanation on closeness.

Selected illustrative data are presented in Tables 8-8 and 8-9. Table 8-8 shows that in each type of maternal authority pattern, when the adolescent perceives that his mother provides many explanations for her rules and decisions, the adolescent is much more likely to bring his problems to his mother than when he perceives that the parent provides few explanations. (The same finding holds for father.) For example, among the American girls with democratic mothers, only 39% talk their problems over with their mothers when they perceive that she provides few explanations for her decisions but 75% do when they perceive that she provides many explanations.

Similarly, within each authority pattern, the child is more likely to depend upon the parent for advice, to feel close to him, to enjoy doing things with the parent or to want to be the kind of person the parent is when he provides many explanations than when he provides few. The very same results were obtained by Elder (1963).

In the course of reviewing the literature and discussing his own results, Elder quotes small-group studies that suggest that it is not so much the degree of power as the legitimization of the power that leads the adolescent to have favorable attitudes toward his parents. Elder's dependent variables included the adolescent's desire to be like his parents, the adolescent's compliance to his parents' wishes when they

TABLE 8-8

Talking Problems over with Mother, Maternal Authority and Frequency of Maternal Explanations, by Sex and Country

Percent of Adolescents Talking Most Problems Over with Mother	Maternal Authority and Frequency of Explanations					
	Authoritarian		Democratic		Permissive	
	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.
UNITED STATES						
Boys	37	20*	49	21*	18	10
Total N	(98)	(112)	(127)	(44)	(45)	(39)
Girls	60	26*	75	39*	39	19*
Total N	(95)	(106)	(173)	(44)	(49)	(32)
DENMARK						
Boys	50	39	59	16*	33	3*
Total N	(50)	(26)	(213)	(32)	(93)	(32)
Girls	46	33	71	32*	58	14*
Total N	(35)	(24)	(288)	(38)	(74)	(29)

Pass 46/09

* Differences between high and low explanations within each sex and country group significant at .05 level (chi-square test)

TABLE 8-9

Talking Problems over with Mother and Maternal Authority and Closeness, by Sex and Country

Percent of Adolescents Talking Most Problems over with Mother	Maternal Authority and Closeness					
	Authoritarian		Democratic		Permissive	
	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.	High Expl.	Low Expl.
UNITED STATES						
Boys	38	11*	53	22*	28	2*
Total N	(129)	(81)	(110)	(44)	(39)	(44)
Girls	62	15*	78	22*	51	15*
Total N	(113)	(86)	(176)	(41)	(35)	(46)
DENMARK						
Boys	48	43	61	43*	37	19*
Total N	(40)	(37)	(142)	(103)	(43)	(85)
Girls	54	18*	73*	52	50	43
Total N	(37)	(22)	(229)	(99)	(48)	(56)

Pass 47C/653A

* Differences between high and low explanations within each sex and country group significant at .05 level (chi-square test)

disapproved of some of his friends,[1] and autonomy, that is the "adolescent's independence in decision-making and feelings of self-confidence in personal goals and standards of behavior" (1963, p. 52). Elder concludes that "positive sentiments toward a power agent increases as the perceived legitimacy of his power increases." Explanation of rules by the parent is taken as an expression of the parents' efforts to legitimize their power.

In both the United States and Denmark, controlling for closeness leads to exactly the same kind of results. Within each authority pattern, adolescents who feel very close to their parents have more positive interactions with their parents than adolescents who feel more distant. For example, 78% of the American adolescent girls who feel close to their parents bring their problems to them as compared to 22% of those who do not feel close. Comparable percentages for children of authoritarian parents are 62% and 15%. (See Table 8-9.) Regardless of the frequency of explanation or degree of closeness, children with permissive parents talk over problems the least with their parents (see also Tables 8-1 and 8-2). Controlling for explanation or closeness reduces in many instances the initial differences between the authoritarian and the democratic patterns.

Weighted effect parameters[2] were computed to calculate more precisely the respective contributions of authority, explanation and closeness on other parent-adolescent interactions. Table 8-10 presents the summary tabulations of the weighted effects of maternal authority pattern, explanation and closeness on the other mother patterns when all three are simultaneously controlled. With two exceptions, maternal authority consistently has the lowest effect and closeness to mother has the highest effect. The effect of explanation is generally in between. The effect parameter of closeness is greater than explanation for all five dependent family variables in the United States and for four out of five in Denmark. In Denmark, explanation is more important than closeness with respect to talking one's problems over with one's mother. This suggests that, in Denmark, the adolescent's discussion of his problems with his parents is associated with the amount of communication on the part of the parent. In the United States, it seems to be associated with the feeling of closeness that the adolescent has toward his parent, irrespective of the parent's verbal communications.

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[1] This particular variable was discussed in the preceding section.

[2] Weighted effect parameters weigh each difference between proportions upon which the estimates are based by the inverse of the variants of the difference. (Coleman, 1964, pp. 202-203.) A program is now available to carry out this procedure on the computer and to apply the significance test devised by Coleman.

TABLE 8-10

Summary Tabulations of Weighted Effect Parameters of Maternal Authority Pattern on Other Maternal Patterns with Maternal Explanation for Decisions and Adolescent Closeness to Mother Controlled, by Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Unweighted Effect Estimates of			Unweighted Effect Estimates of		
Effect on:	Maternal Authority	Maternal Explanation	Closeness to Mother	Maternal Authority	Maternal Explanation	Closeness to Mother
Talking problems over with mother	.005	.181*	.339*	.083	.307*	.159*
Depending upon mother for advice	.040	.087	.382*	.050	.092*	.218*
Score on index of reliance on mother	.044	.016	.189*	.026	.053	.174*
Enjoying doing things with mother	-.020	.119*	.333*	.108*	.128*	.241*
Wanting to be like mother	.034	.135*	.392*	.007	.066	.343*

Based on data from Pass 65

* Significant at .05 level.

In conclusion, it would seem that in both countries, democratic parents, who engage their child actively in the decision-making process, provide many explanations to their child for their rules and explanations. This in turn is associated with feelings of closeness between parents and child and allows the child to have a more intimate and meaningful relationship with his parents. Authoritarian and permissive parents are less likely to provide explanations. However, when they do and when their adolescent children feel close to them, the children will tend to feel much more positive toward them. The distance between parent and adolescent is greatest in permissive families.

IV. The Structure of Parent-Adolescent Interactions: A Nonmetric Approach:

In the process of explaining the operation of parental authority, we discussed some of the interrelationships among other parent-adolescent patterns (see Tables 8-7A and 8-7B).

The various questionnaire items for the family variables were originally selected because of their meaning and of their manifest relationship to certain family dimensions we were interested in measuring: authority, communication, reliance, affectivity and modelling.

We are interested in the internal structures of families and in how these various items relate to each other. A relatively new technique, Kruskal's (1964a, b) "Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling," appears to be a promising technique for studying these family structures.[1] Briefly, this technique permits the representation of different variables (in the present case, family patterns) geometrically by as many different points so that the distances between the points will correspond to the rank order of their similarity to each other. The goal of the technique is not necessarily to identify separate dimensions in the data--such as factor analysis would allow, for instance--but rather to display how far or how close the different items stand in relation to each other. The items which are highly intercorrelated will be closer to each other on the graph than to those items with which they have a lower correlation.[2]

---

[1] We thank Professor Charles Kadushin of Columbia University for introducing us to the technique and explaining the unwritten rules involved in interpreting the results.

[2] Kruskal's fundamental hypothesis is "that dissimilarities and distances are monotonically related." His technique involves computing "that configuration of points which optimizes the goodness of fit." For any configuration of points, the technique involves performing a monotonic regression of distance upon dissimilarity. The residual variance is normalized and is called stress. "The stress measures how well any configuration fits the data." The solution involves finding the configuration with a minimum amount of stress. This is done by successive approximations. The space on which the configurations are obtained can be mathematically defined as having one or more dimensions. The author suggests that the analysis be done in several dimensions and that a graph be plotted to show the dependence of minimum stress on dimension...

(continued next page)

This technique was used with ten mother and father family items (as perceived by the child), for boys and girls combined. (It also has been used for each sex separately and the results obtained are very similar to those for the total sample.)

The following items were used in the scaling. (The number codes identify the items on the graphs.)

1. parental decision pattern
2. parental explanation for decisions and rules
3. talking problems over with parent
4. depending upon parent for advice
5. index of reliance on parent for advice
6. closeness to parent
7. enjoying doing things with parent
8. wanting to be like parent
9. number of rules in family
10. feeling of freedom from parents

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[2] (footnote continued from previous page)
Good data sometimes exhibit a noticeable elbow in the curve, thus pointing to the appropriate value of (number of dimensions)" (Kruskal, 1964a, p. 16). One should be careful to note that these are dimensions in the mathematical sense--referring to the dimensions of the space in which the data are being located--and not in the sociological or psychological sense. A program has been developed to carry out this procedure on the computer.

On the basis of experience with synthetic and engineering data, the following criteria have been set up to evaluate stress:

.20 = poor
.10 = fair
.05 = good
.00 = perfect

It is generally felt that these criteria are too rigorous for the kinds of data obtained in social science research.

No clear-cut rules are given for the interpretation of the data. They are generally interpreted on the bases of the visual configurations obtained and on what previous knowledge the investigator has of the data.

The matrices of interrelations of these items appear in Appendix Tables 8A and 8B. The measure of association used is tau-beta. Parental authority pattern is the only variable related in a curvilinear fashion to the other variables. Perusal of the cross-tabulations, on which the correlations presented in the matrices of Appendix Tables 8A and 8B are based, indicates that all the remaining variables listed in the matrices are related linearly to each other.[1]

The two accompanying charts (Configurations 1-A and 1-B) show the configuration of maternal patterns in two dimensional space in the United States and in Denmark. Several immediate observations can be made about the two configurations:

1. There is striking similarity between the two countries. This confirms the earlier conclusion that while there are great *differences* between the United States and Denmark in the *distribution* of different patterns, there are great *similarities* in the way these patterns are *interrelated*. The two configurations now provide immediate visual demonstration of this point.

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[1] The measures of stress obtained for up to five dimensions are presented below.

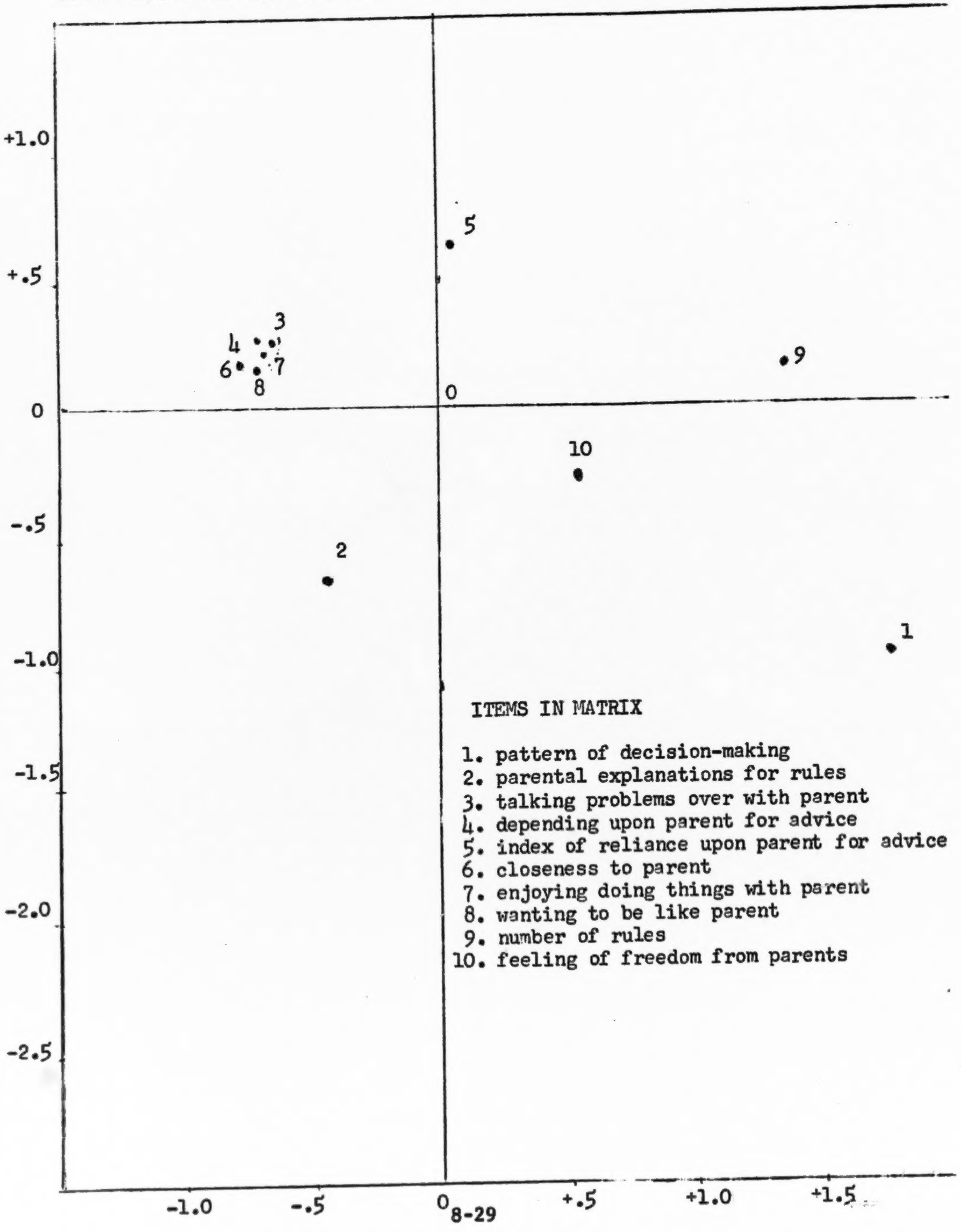
Stress According to the Number of Dimensions Used in Obtaining the Configurations of Mother and Father Family Items for Total Sample of Adolescents in Each Country.

	Mother patterns		Father patterns	
Number of dimensions	United States	Denmark	United States	Denmark
1	.097	.234	.050	.243
2	.048	.072	.054	.105
3	.042	.043	.049	.045
4	.049	.049	.042	.038
5	.048	.041	.049	.046

In the United States, for the mother items, stress does not improve substantially beyond two dimensions and for the father items it does not improve at all beyond one dimension. In Denmark, for both mother and father items, stress is higher than in the United States at one and two dimensions. At three dimensions, there is a noticeable improvement when the stress value becomes as low as for the United States. But even at two dimensions, stress is relatively low suggesting that in both countries the configurations obtained fit the data well. In fact, the stress for these types of data is considered to be unusually low (Personal communication from Charles Kadushin.)

CONFIGURATION 1-A

CONFIGURATION OF MOTHER ITEMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY MDSCL TECHNIQUE

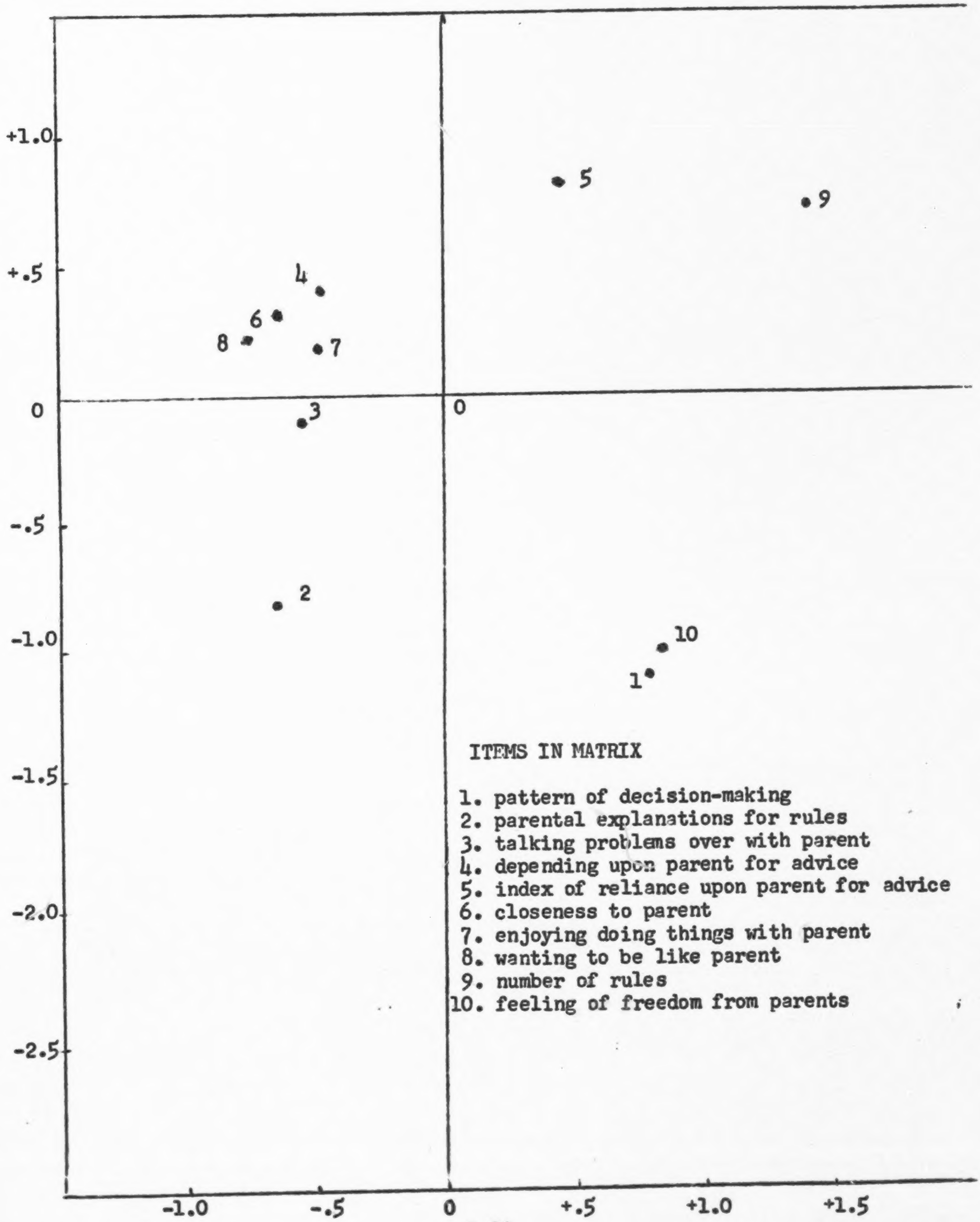


ITEMS IN MATRIX

1. pattern of decision-making
2. parental explanations for rules
3. talking problems over with parent
4. depending upon parent for advice
5. index of reliance upon parent for advice
6. closeness to parent
7. enjoying doing things with parent
8. wanting to be like parent
9. number of rules
10. feeling of freedom from parents

CONFIGURATION 1-B

CONFIGURATION OF MOTHER ITEMS IN DENMARK BY MDSCL TECHNIQUE



ITEMS IN MATRIX

1. pattern of decision-making
2. parental explanations for rules
3. talking problems over with parent
4. depending upon parent for advice
5. index of reliance upon parent for advice
6. closeness to parent
7. enjoying doing things with parent
8. wanting to be like parent
9. number of rules
10. feeling of freedom from parents

2. The configurations in both countries are characterized by a clustering of the same five items: items 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8. The remaining five items are well distributed. The underlying meaning of the items falling in the cluster seems to be closeness of contact with the mother: bringing one's problems to her, depending upon her for advice, feeling close to her, enjoying being with her, and wanting to be like her.

3. There are also certain differences between the American and Danish configurations. In the United States, decision-making stands in complete isolation from all the other points. Maternal explanation of rules, number of rules and adolescent's feeling of freedom stand in an intermediary position between maternal decision pattern and child's feeling of closeness to the mother. In Denmark, on the other hand, decision-making is also far from the cluster, but in contrast to the United States, it is very close to the feeling of freedom.[1]

As we emphasized earlier, nonmetric multidimensional scaling (or MEDSCAL) is not designed to isolate dimensions. Yet, the strong clustering we obtain in these configurations and the relative isolation of decision-making come very close to representing the two axes of power and support, or the instrumental versus the expressive dimensions, which have been used to describe families (e.g., Parsons and Bales, 1955, Straus, 1964).

The different relative positions of the freedom item in the two countries is quite instructive. In Denmark, feeling of independence is much more closely related to the sphere of action (decision-making) while in the United States it is much closer to the sphere of feelings.

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[1] We mentioned earlier that authority pattern is related in a curvilinear manner to the other family variables. Since tau-beta is not the most appropriate correlation coefficient for curvilinear relationships, it is theoretically possible that the use of this statistic leads to the isolated position of authority pattern on the graphs. In order to eliminate this possibility, the matrices of correlation and the technique of nonmetric multidimensional scaling were carried out with the same family items using symmetric lambda as a measure of correlation. This association statistic measures improvement in the extent to which one can predict one variable from another and is, therefore, more suitable than tau-beta to measure curvilinear relationships. For if there are strong curvilinear relationships, symmetric lambda will reflect this while tau-beta will be depressed. The resulting configurations based on lambda are similar to those based on tau-betas. (Graphs not presented.) Authority pattern still is isolated from all the other variables. This seems to provide adequate justification for concluding that the isolated position of this variable on the configurations is not an artifact of the particular measure of association used.

This may help us to understand what earlier appeared as paradoxes in the data. We know that feelings of independence are more prevalent in Denmark than in the United States (Chapter 7, Table 7-11). We also know that, in both countries, feelings of independence are associated with greater closeness to the parent and great susceptibility to their influence.(Chapter 7, Tables 7-17 and 7-18). Yet, the Danes (who express much stronger feelings of independence from their parents than the Americans) say more frequently than the Americans that they do not feel close to their parents, and that, were their parents to object to their friends, they would still continue to see them. These apparent contradictory results now make sense if, on the basis of the configurations above, one comes to the conclusion that independence has quite a different meaning in the two cultures under study. In the United States, freedom is associated with feelings of closeness. In Denmark, freedom is associated with independent action.

The Danish cluster of the five items is looser than the American, indicating that these items are less closely related to each other in Denmark than in the United States. In particular, talking one's problems over with one's mother is not as closely related to depending upon her for advice as in the United States. This now supports our earlier observation that even though Danish adolescents are more likely to bring their problems to their mother than the Americans, they are not any more likely than they to depend upon her for advice.

In both countries, item 5, index of reliance on the mother, is quite close to the cluster.

Essentially, the same configurations obtain with respect to father items. (See Configurations 2-A and 2-B.) However, the similarities between the United States and Denmark are not as striking as in the case of the mother. The same five items that cluster for the mother cluster for the father. Again, the cluster is looser in Denmark than in the United States. Item 1, authority pattern, stands in isolation from all others. But now, in both countries, subjective feeling of freedom is much less close to authority pattern than it was with respect to the mother, suggesting that the feeling of independence the child experiences vis-à-vis his father is less dependent upon the type of power he exercises than it is in the case of the mother.

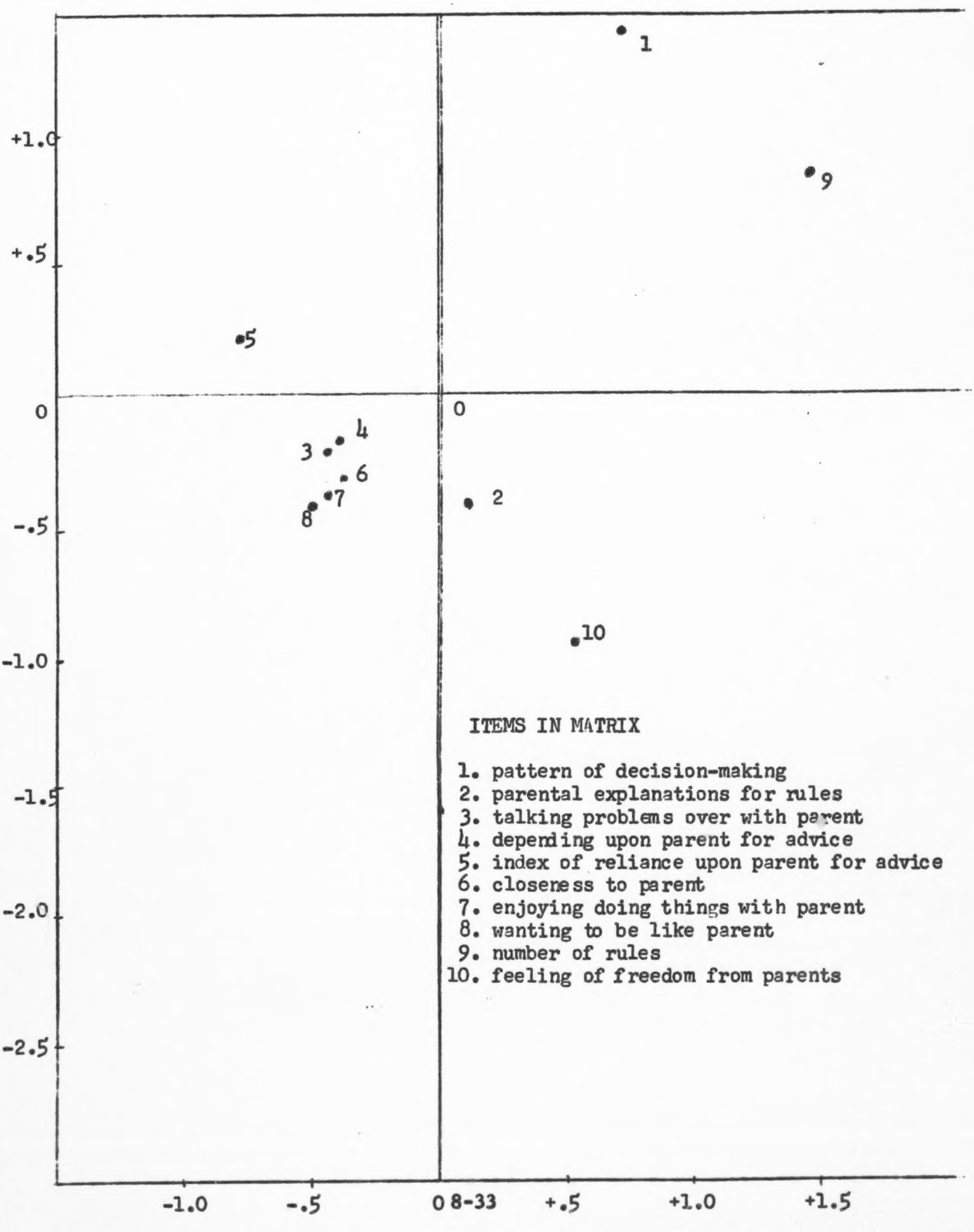
In both countries, paternal explanation for rules is more highly related to feeling close to the father than explanation is in the case of the mother. This suggests that mothers are likely to provide explanations for their decisions regardless of whether the child feels close to her, while the father explains his decisions only when there is close contact between him and the adolescent.

V. Parental Interactions Concerning the Adolescent.

The family patterns considered all pertain to the interaction between parents and their adolescent children. Among the different possible classes of family patterns, one can also distinguish interactions

CONFIGURATION 2-A

CONFIGURATION OF FATHER ITEMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY MDSCL TECHNIQUE

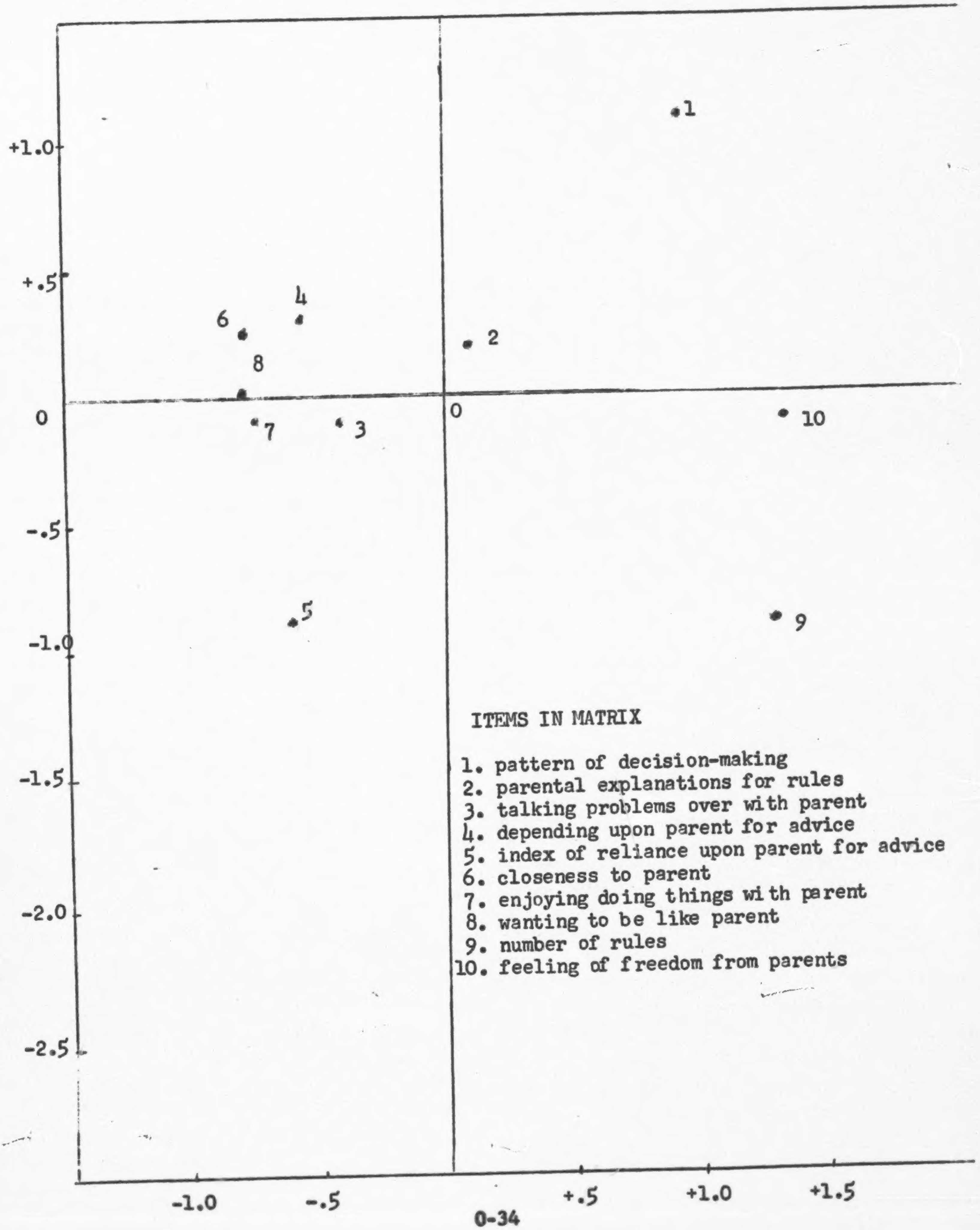


ITEMS IN MATRIX

1. pattern of decision-making
2. parental explanations for rules
3. talking problems over with parent
4. depending upon parent for advice
5. index of reliance upon parent for advice
6. closeness to parent
7. enjoying doing things with parent
8. wanting to be like parent
9. number of rules
10. feeling of freedom from parents

CONFIGURATION 2-B

CONFIGURATION OF FATHER ITEMS IN DENMARK BY MDSCL TECHNIQUE



between the parents themselves. The present section will analyze selected interactions between parents which have the child specifically as a focus.

First, we will compare the patterns of husband-wife interaction in the two societies under study. Second, we will study the interrelationships between types of husband-wife and parent-adolescent interactions.

As was the case for Danish parent-child interactions, there are no empirical studies of husband-wife interaction in Denmark. A great number of American studies describe the relationships of husbands and wives. In the tradition of Herbst's (1954) original study of marital patterns, these studies focus mainly on the decision-making process between the spouses on several issues of importance to all families. This extensive literature will not be reviewed here. We will only mention the major conclusion arising out of these studies (e.g., Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Zelditch, 1964): the most common type of decision-making pattern between husband and wife in American families is the democratic, in which husband and wife share equally in the decision-making process.

In contrast to the relatively large number of studies focused on marital interactions, very few studies have attempted to consider parent-child interactions in relation to husband-wife interactions. Thus, Clausen and Williams (1963) write: "Relatively few studies have explicitly dealt with the difference between parental power over major decisions and relative parental authority with reference to a given child" (p. 93).

The most complete study in this area was carried out by Bowerman and Elder (1964). These investigators distinguished three types of family relationships: the conjugal power structure (referring to which parent is seen as having most influence in making family decisions), parental authority in child-rearing (referring to which parent makes the final decision when they disagree on behavior limits for the child), and the parent-adolescent relations. Bowerman and Elder (1964) found that, while power in the marital and parental relationships were strongly related to each other, the relationship of each of these with power in the parent-adolescent relationship was much weaker. "In families in which mother is perceived as more influential than father, dominance in parental relations does not necessarily imply dominance in parent-adolescent relations" (p. 562). By contrast, in our study, as we will see, we find an association between power within the parental relationship and power in the relationship between parent and adolescent.

But we turn first to an examination of patterns of parental interaction in the United States and Denmark.

A. Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Parental Interactions:

The democratic interchange between Danish parent and adolescent is paralleled by a collaborative pattern between the parents themselves.[1]

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[1] The following discussion and the accompanying tables are based upon adolescents' responses. The same trends appear on the basis of the mother's answers.

Thus, the discipline of the adolescent is more often the equal responsibility of both parents in Denmark (46%) than in the United States (28%) (Table 8-11). In this United States sample, discipline of the adolescent is more often the sole responsibility of one parent, the mother more frequently than the father. In both countries, if the pattern is not an equalitarian one, the mother rather than the father is most active in disciplining the children. The difference for boys between mothers and fathers is less than for girls, but mothers discipline boys more than fathers do. However, boys mention fathers as the disciplinarian more often than girls and girls mention mothers more frequently than boys.[1]

Danish parents are less likely than Americans to disagree among themselves about what the child's punishment for misbehavior should be: 25% of the Danish adolescents say that their parents disagree "sometimes" or "frequently" among themselves as compared to 48% in the United States (Table 8-11).

When disagreements do occur, the likelihood that one parent will win these arguments consistently is lower in Denmark than in the United States (Table 8-11). In the United States, as large a proportion of adolescents mention the mother (41%) as mention both parents as consistently winning arguments at different times (38%). Furthermore, as shown in Table 8-12, in instances of frequent disagreement, the mother is most often mentioned as the winner of the argument in the United States (57% versus 21% for the father), while the father is most often mentioned in Denmark (46% versus 32% for the mother).

Winning arguments and having a major role in disciplining the child are also intimately related. The parent who disciplines the child is more likely to win arguments than the other (Table 8-12). In the United States, when the mother is the main disciplinarian she is much more likely to win arguments (54%) than the father when he is in a similar position (35%). In Denmark, no difference appears between mothers and fathers in this respect. The comparable percentages in Denmark are 35% and 36%.

The general pattern that emerges is one of greater democracy in Denmark than in the United States within parental interaction. In families in which the democratic pattern does not appear, there is greater maternal dominance in the United States and greater paternal dominance in Denmark.

It will be recalled that one of the differences in parent-adolescent

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[1] This sex-linked perception of which parent is the disciplinarian confirms the results reported by other investigators (Hess and Torney, 1962; Bowerman and Elder (1964); Henry, 1957; Bronfenbrenner, 1961); children tend to perceive the same-sex parent as being the disciplinarian.

TABLE 8-11

The Allocation of Discipline Roles Among Parents, by Sex and Country

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Who disciplines child in family						
Father more	33	23	28	23	12	17
Both parents same	30	26	28	45	46	46
Mother more	36	51	44	32	42	37
Total N	(497)	(522)	(1019)	(452)	(488)	(940)
Parents disagree about child punishment						
Frequently	17	21	19	6	6	6
Sometimes	31	27	29	20	18	19
Very Seldom	52	52	52	74	76	75
Total N	(500)	(526)	(1026)	(456)	(498)	(954)
Who wins arguments in case of disagreement						
Mother wins	35	46	41	25	24	25
About same	42	35	38	52	56	54
Father wins	23	19	21	23	19	21
Total N	(492)	(517)	(1009)	(432)	(468)	(900)

Pass 71/771-773; 188/41-45

Differences between countries for total sample, boys and girls significant at .001

TABLE 8-12

Which Parent Wins Arguments and Who Disciplines Child in Family or Frequency of Parental Disagreement, by Country

	Which Parent Wins Argument							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Mother %	About Same %	Father %	Total N	Mother %	About Same %	Father %	Total N
Who Disciplines Child[1]								
Father	34	31	35	(286)	26	39	36	(156)
Both Parents	26	59	15	(278)	16	65	19	(401)
Mother	54	30	16	(439)	35	48	17	(331)
Parents Disagree[2]								
Frequently	57	22	21	(193)	32	22	46	(54)
Sometimes	41	37	22	(290)	37	45	18	(180)
Very Seldom	34	45	21	(523)	21	59	20	(665)

[1] Pass 47E/717B; Pass 188/27

[2] Pass 47E/717; Pass 188/26

All differences within countries significant at .001 (chi-square test) relationships between the United States and Denmark concerns the extent of communication between parent and child. Danish adolescents report more frequently than the Americans that their parents explain their decisions to them and that they (the adolescents) feel they can talk their problems over with their parents. This greater communication between parent and child in Denmark as compared to the United States is accompanied by greater communication between the parents themselves. The mothers in the study were asked how much time they spent talking to their husbands in the course of a typical weekday. Danish mothers give a much higher estimate of time than the Americans: 74% of the Danish mothers say they spend two or more hours a day talking to their husbands as compared to 44% of the Americans. We thought originally that the greater proportion of farmers in the Danish sample could perhaps account for these cross-cultural differences; in farm families, husbands and wives may work together on the farm and may spend more time talking to each other in the course of the day than spouses in other occupational groups. However, the frequency of husband and wife communication is the same among farmers as among the other broad occupational groups we have defined: in Denmark, 38% of respondents in the middle class, 44% in the lower class and 38% among farmers report that they talk four hours or more a day with their spouses (Pass 190). Thus, the cross-cultural differences in frequency of marital communication are not due to the different occupational distributions in the two national samples in our study.

High frequency of communication explains in part the relatively low degree of parental disagreement in Denmark as compared to the United States. Note in Table 8-13 that the extent of parental disagreement (as per the mother's report) is inversely related to the amount of communication existing between the spouses--the greater the communication, the lower the disagreements. However, even for the same amount of communication, there are still fewer marital disputes in Denmark than in the United States (Table 8-13).

We anticipated that the differences between the two countries in parental power structure would account for the differences in extent of conflict between the parents, since Danish parents are more likely to share authority over the child between themselves (Table 8-11) and since Table 8-14 shows that the shared pattern of responsibility is associated with most agreement between the parents. Indeed, Table 8-14 indicates that there is a significant association between discipline roles in the family and the extent of parental disagreement about matters concerning the child. In both countries, least disagreement occurs when responsibility is shared and most disagreement when the father takes sole responsibility for disciplining the adolescent--be the adolescent male or female. However, for each discipline pattern, the degree of disagreement is still much lower in Denmark than in the United States. The cross-cultural differences are particularly strong in the shared pattern. In the shared pattern, 43% of the American adolescent boys report frequent disagreement between their mothers and fathers as contrasted with only 18% of the Danish boys. This finding leads to the conclusion that the differences in discipline patterns between the two

TABLE 8-13

Frequency of Parental Disagreement and Time Parents Spend Talking to Each Other in a Day, by Country

Time Parents Spend Talking to Each Other	Proportion of Parents Who Disagree "Frequently" or "Sometimes"			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	%	N	%	N
0-1 hour	75	(299)	47	(76)
1-2 hours	67	(331)	48	(161)
2-4 hours	66	(276)	42	(310)
4 + hours	60	(208)	32	(364)

Pass 13/2 - Based on mothers' responses.

Differences within countries significant at .001 (chi-square test)

TABLE 8-14

Frequency of Parental Disagreement and Which Parent Disciplines Adolescent, by Sex and Country

Percent of Parents Who Disagree "Frequently" or "Sometimes"	Which Parent Disciplines Adolescent					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Mother	Both	Father	Mother	Both	Father
Boys	45	43	55	29	18	40
Total N	(178)	(149)	(165)	(143)	(202)	(103)
Girls	43	45	64	21	14	40
Total N	(263)	(134)	(123)	(206)	(222)	(60)

Pass 188/28A

All differences for each sex within each country significant at .05 (chi-square test) countries do not also explain the differences in extent of disagreement that are observed between husband and wife.

B. Authority Patterns Between Mother and Father and Between Parents and Adolescents:

Authority with children seems to relate to authority in the husband-wife relationship. It was pointed out above that if authority in the parental relationship is exercised primarily by one parent (as indicated by the question on who wins arguments) then that parent takes primary authority in disciplining the child.

This section examines the association of these parental patterns with the parent-adolescent patterns. We shall show that the distribution of parental authority between the mother and the father is strongly related to the type of authority exercised by each parent toward the adolescent.

Of the three types of decision-making between the child and his parents, only the democratic type implies much interaction, communication and joint decision-making. The results show that a sharing of authority between parents is associated with a sharing of authority between parents and children, whether one considers shared parental authority in terms of each parent getting his way in arguments with about the same frequency (see Table 8-15) or participating equally in disciplining the child (data not presented). Both are associated with a further sharing of authority with the child about issues of relevance to him. According to the adolescent's perception, both mother and father are most likely to adopt a democratic pattern toward the adolescent when they share parental authority over the children.[1] By a number of indicators, then, families tend either to centralize authority in one person or diffuse it among all, including the children, both in terms of the person exercising the authority and of the pattern of decision-making which is adopted. Controlling by sex and country, in every case, both the mother and the father are most likely to adopt the democratic pattern with the child when the parents share authority between themselves.[2]

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[1] Bowerman and Elder (1964) found no relationship between power in parental and child-rearing relationship (or parent-adolescent relationship). In a study of schizophrenic families, Kohn and Clausen (1956) found that the balance of power between the parents and their relative authority over the child were related but were not identical. Hoffman (1960) states that the mother's assertiveness over her child is "partly a response to her husband's power assertiveness toward her," suggesting an inverse relationship between power in the marital and the parent-child relationship.

[2] The relationship between marital patterns about the child and parent-child patterns is not as high in the Bowerman and Elder study (1964, p. 560) as in the present one.

⑤

TABLE 8-15

Parental Authority Pattern and Which Parent Wins Arguments, by Country

Parental Authority Pattern	Which Parent Wins Arguments							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Mother	About Same	Father	Total	Mother	About Same	Father	Total
MOTHER								
Authoritarian	49%	35%	45%	43%	18%	11%	19%	15%
Democratic	32	52	32	40	52	68	52	60
Permissive	19	13	23	17	30	21	29	25
Total N	(390)	(367)	(207)	(964)	(222)	(484)	(190)	(896)
FATHER								
Authoritarian	49%	48%	70%	53%	29%	24%	48%	31%
Democratic	26	38	17	29	42	56	36	48
Permissive	25	14	13	18	29	20	16	21
Total N	(376)	(358)	(203)	(937)	(218)	(476)	(188)	(882)

Pass 47E/720A; Pass 47F/744A; Pass 188/29

All differences among winning patterns within countries significant at .001 (chi-square test)

Fathers adopt an authoritarian pattern when they also dominate the parental relationship. As shown by Table 8-15, 70% of the American fathers and 48% of the Danish fathers are authoritarian toward their children when they win arguments with their wives as compared to 49% in the United States and 29% in Denmark when wives win the arguments. Fathers adopt a permissive pattern when the mother dominates the parental relationship (Table 8-15). Table 8-15 indicates no consistent pattern concerning the mother's adoption of an authority pattern other than the democratic. To dominate her husband does not consistently lead her to be authoritarian toward her child; nor does being dominated by him consistently lead her to be permissive toward the child.

In conclusion, these data suggest that authority over the members of a family is either centralized in one member or diffused among all (Table 8-12), even, to some extent, the children (Table 8-15). In addition, the authority of both parents over the children seems to be exercised less arbitrarily and more by consensus when it is shared in the parental relationship as well (Table 8-15). Finally, parental conflict tends to be associated with a polarization of authority and a less democratic pattern of parental interaction (Table 8-12).

VI. Adolescents' and Parents' Perceptions of Family Patterns:

The discussion throughout this chapter and the preceding one has been based mainly upon the child's perception of interactions in the family. This section will now compare in detail the answers given by mothers and children in terms both of general distributions of answers and of concordance within matched adolescent-mother pairs.

A. Comparison of Marginal Distributions:

With one exception, the cross-cultural comparisons of patterns of family life are quite similar whether one considers the distribution of answers given by adolescents or their mothers. Adolescents and mothers give somewhat different answers, but discrepancies follow similar trends in both countries. As shown in Table 8-16, children tend to report more parental permissiveness, fewer family rules, fewer parental explanations of decisions, lesser dependence on parents for advice, lesser closeness to their parents, lesser enjoyment of doing things with their mothers, greater paternal discipline and less parental disagreement than the mothers report. But while the American adolescents get higher scores than the mothers on the index of reliance on mother, Danish adolescents get lower scores than their mothers. While the generational differences are in the same direction in both countries,

TABLE 8-16

Patterns of Family Interaction as Perceived by Adolescents and their Mothers, in the United States and Denmark

Percent Reporting the Following Patterns of Family Interaction	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Adolescent	Mother	Adolescent	Mother
MOTHER AUTHORITY PATTERN				
Authoritarian	43	44	15	10
Democratic	40	44	61	73
Permissive	17	12	24	17
Total N	(983)	(1119)	(950)	(953)
FATHER AUTHORITY PATTERN				
Authoritarian	53	56	31	17
Democratic	29	33	48	68
Permissive	18	11	21	15
Total N	(955)	(1115)	(936)	(952)
NUMBER OF RULES IN FAMILY				
No rule checked	9	4	27	19
1-2	36	13	44	51
3-8	55	83	29	30
Total N	(907)	(1139)	(918)	(970)
MOTHER EXPLAINS DECISIONS				
Always	30	58	43	65
Total N	(973)	(1127)	(937)	(939)
FATHER EXPLAINS DECISIONS				
Always	21	39	33	54
Total N	(954)	(1112)	(930)	(938)
DEPENDS VERY MUCH FOR ADVICE ON MOTHER	23	34	19	21
Total N	(825)	(1127)	(852)	(957)
DEPENDS VERY MUCH FOR ADVICE ON FATHER	15	20	18	21
Total N	(827)	(1089)	(846)	(929)

TABLE 8-16 (continued)

Percent Reporting the Following Patterns of Family Interaction	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Adolescent	Mother	Adolescent	Mother
INDEX OF RELIANCE ON				
Mother	2.69	2.19	2.25	2.46
Father	0.88	0.38	1.54	0.90
CLOSENESS TO MOTHER				
Extremely, quite close	63	72	57	89
Total N	(967)	(1129)	(944)	(963)
CLOSENESS TO FATHER				
Extremely, quite close	50	54	55	80
Total N	(935)	(1087)	(936)	(933)
ADOLESCENT ENJOYS DOING MANY THINGS WITH MOTHER	35	38	35	52
Total N	(971)	(1115)	(941)	(951)
ADOLESCENT ENJOYS DOING MANY THINGS WITH FATHER	34	31	43	46
Total N	(953)	(1093)	(941)	(926)
WHICH PARENT DISCIPLINES				
Father more	28	22	17	7
Same	28	34	45	56
Mother more	44	44	37	37
Total N	(1019)	(1124)	(940)	(925)
PARENTS' DISAGREEMENT				
Disagree sometimes, frequently	48	68	25	40
Total N	(1026)	(1136)	(954)	(968)

Passes 147 and 186

they sometimes differ in magnitude. Thus, in Denmark, the discrepancy between mothers and children is particularly strong regarding the extent to which mothers report themselves and, in particular, their husbands as democratic, the degree of closeness existing between them and their children and the extent to which children enjoy doing things with them. On the other hand, the American mothers, much more than the Danes, are likely to mention more rules than their children.

These cross-cultural differences in generational discrepancies can be understood in light of each country modal family patterns (which we discussed earlier in Chapter 7). It is a simple psychological assumption that individuals perceive their environments to make the environment more consistent with their subjective needs. The data in Table 8-16 suggest that parents in each country overemphasize the patterns which were previously pointed out to be the modal pattern in each country, as derived from adolescents' perceptions. It appears that parents exaggerate what they take as proper behavior. American mothers more often report themselves as rule-setters than their children do, in accord with the greater control over adolescents of American mothers as contrasted to the Danes. The Danish parent, on the other hand, more often overemphasizes the democratic character of his family. The fact that Danish adolescents tend to minimize the closeness between themselves than their parents, and the extent of their reliance upon their mother for advice can be interpreted as another expression of their strong strivings for independence.

B. Concordance Between Mothers' and Adolescents' Perceptions:

Distributions do not provide a good indication of the amount of concordance, or agreement, that actually exists within families, for similar distributions can be the result of very different combinations of concordance or discordance patterns. Only by cross-tabulating the answers given by adolescents and mothers who come from the same family can one assess exactly the degree of concordance between adolescents' and mothers' perceptions.

When the perceptions of parents and children on several patterns of family interaction are cross-tabulated, the results in all instances indicate relatively small but consistently significant relationships between mothers' and adolescents' perceptions.

Table 8-17 presents the agreement between mothers and adolescents for a variety of family patterns, as measured by tau-beta. The tau-beta values while statistically significant are not very high in absolute terms. Statistically, the highest degree of concordance would be indicated by a tau-beta of unity. Given the deficiencies inherent in our measuring instrument, and the complexity, subjectivity and possible instability of the family variables under consideration, the statistical optimum is not an appropriate criterion for highest possible concordance. Concordance on other items do provide a yardstick by which to evaluate the size of the tau-betas for concordance on the interactional family

TABLE 8-17

Concordance Between Mother and Adolescent in Perception of Family Interaction Patterns, by Country

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		
Family Pattern	Tau-beta	No. Pairs	Tau-beta	No. Pairs	No. of Categories in Item
Maternal Authority	.069	(961)	.117	(927)	3
Paternal Authority	.149	(932)	.165	(914)	3
Total Number of Rules	.162	(905)	.213	(912)	9
Mother Explains Decisions	.123	(960)	.132	(900)	3
Father Explains Decisions	.203	(929)	.135	(894)	3
Index of Reliance on Mother	.243	(1054)	.184	(921)	11
Index of Reliance on Father	.239	(1054)	.257	(921)	11
Enjoy Things with Mother	.205	(946)	.207	(915)	3
Enjoy Things with Father	.338	(918)	.220	(892)	3
Closeness Mother	.260	(930)	.138	(890)	4
Closeness Father	.318	(896)	.131	(893)	4
Parental Disagreement	.205	(1023)	.268	(945)	3
Who Disciplines Child	.350	(1003)	.331	(892)	3

Pass 131

All correlations significant at the .01 level.

family items. These are sociodemographic items which describe more objective and concrete characteristics of families than interactional patterns. Even a complex item such as father's occupation is less subjective than felt closeness to mother. Concordance between mothers and adolescents on these sociodemographic items appears on Table 8-18. Concordance on these more concrete attributes of families is much higher than on the more subjective interactional items. But the tau-betas never equal unity, even with respect to the most unambiguous item of all, that about number of siblings in the family. In this particular instance, the lack of a higher correlation may seem particularly surprising and disappointing. But it can be explained by the fact that mothers and children answered questions which differed slightly in wording. The mother was asked to indicate the number of her sons and daughters; the child was asked the number of his male and female siblings. Certain adolescents may have misunderstood the question and may have included themselves in the count. Also, step-siblings might lead to different count despite directions to count them as real siblings.

In conclusion, while the association between mother's and child's perception of family patterns is significant, there is in absolute number a large proportion of families in which parents and children do not agree about the nature of the transactions that take place within the family.[1]

VII. Discussion and Conclusion:

The present chapter continued the comparative analysis of families in the United States and Denmark by investigating the interrelationships among patterns of parent-adolescent interactions and by also examining husband-wife interactions concerning the child (parental interactions). The focus of attention shifted from a consideration of the distribution of patterns in each country to the interrelationships among these patterns within families.

The general conclusion to be reached from our data is that the Danes present a general image of familial democracy unlike the more strongly differentiated parent-child and husband-wife relationship indicated by the Americans. We saw in Chapter 7 that more Danish than American adolescents reach decisions jointly with their parents, have fewer rules to follow, and receive more frequent explanations of parental rules and decisions. We have seen in the present chapter that there is less disagreement between parents about the child in Denmark than in the United States and more sharing among parents of the discipline roles involving the child (Table 8-14). By contrast, in the American family, there is more frequent separation between the parents and more frequent dominance by the mother.

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[1] Again, it should be emphasized that the observed amount of disagreement results in part from the unreliability of our measuring instruments and from the instability of the variables under study. Only panel studies would reveal how stable or labile over time are the adolescents' perceptions of the nature of their interactions with their parents.

TABLE 8-18

Concordance Between Mother and Adolescent in Perception of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Family, by Country

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	UNITED STATES		DENMARK		
	Tau-beta	No. Pairs	Tau-beta	No. Pairs	No. of Categories
Father occupation[2]	.616	(938)	.904[1]	(953)	13
Father education[3]	.597	(926)	.795	(795)	4
Mother education[3]	.695	(969)	.833	(816)	4
Mother employment[3]	.758	(1028)	.834	(945)	5
Mother occupation (if employed)[3]	.692	(347)	.921	(256)	12
Number male siblings[2]	.803	(994)	.784	(933)	10
Number female siblings[2]	.791	(996)	.782	(934)	10
Father birth place[3]	.836	(843)	.740	(892)	3
Mother birth place[3]	.886	(861)	.719	(895)	3
Religion[2,4]	.780	(843)	----	-----	3
Income[3]	.502	(384)	.554	(390)	3

All correlations significant beyond the .001 level

[1] This particular figure is not meaningful since Danish coders referred to the mother's questionnaires when they were unable to code the father's occupation from the information provided by the adolescent. This is the only question for which this procedure was followed in Denmark. For the United States sample, all students and mothers' questionnaires were coded independently of each other.

[2] Pass 131

[3] Pass 185

[4] Question not asked in Denmark

A striking aspect of the results is that, while the United States and Denmark are characterized by different distributions of family patterns, the interrelationships among these patterns within families follow similar trends in both countries (Tables 8-1, 8-2, 8-7A and 8-7B), and the implications of authority structure are the same in both countries. The pattern of decision-making between the parent and the adolescent is highly related to the other dimensions of the parent-adolescent interaction. Parental authority, which is defined along a continuum involving the child's participation in the decision-making process, is related, especially for girls, in a curvilinear fashion to the other family variables. Among girls in both the United States and Denmark, the democratic pattern is consistently associated with most positive interaction with the parent, whether the mother or the father. It is associated with most communication from and to the parent, most closeness to the parent, most reliance upon the parent for advice and most desire to be like the parents. Among boys, in both countries, the differences between the democratic and the authoritarian pattern often are attenuated, and, in a few instances, the authoritarian pattern is associated with more positive interactions than the democratic. Among both boys and girls, most distance between parent and adolescent occurs when the parent is perceived by the child as being permissive. In most instances, the child of an authoritarian parent is more similar to the child of a democratic parent than of a permissive. This is especially true for boys. Girls react more positively than boys to a democratic pattern in the mother and boys react more positively than girls to an authoritarian pattern in the father.

Frequency of parental explanations for rules and decisions and the adolescent's experienced closeness to his parents account for much of the observed relationships of authority pattern.

Among both boys and girls, the democratic pattern is associated with most positive attitudes toward the parents and to the feeling that one's opinions and attitudes are similar to the parents'.

From the adolescent's own subjective point of view, the democratic pattern seems to be the most effective form of parental control. We observed that, with the exception of American boys, adolescents with democratic mothers are more likely to say that they would stop seeing their friends should their parents object to them. However, less conclusive results were obtained when one examined the adolescent's compliance with the parents' rules in those areas for which we had information both about the existence of a parental rule and the nature of the child's behavior.

However, these findings provide confirmatory evidence for Bronfenbrenner's theoretical concept of "optimal level," in the influence of parental behavior upon the child (1961b). This concept implies a "curvilinear relationship between either parental affectionror authority on the one hand and child's behavior on the other." Further, this optimum level is assumed to vary for the two sexes and to appear at a lower level for girls than for boys. Bronfenbrenner's dependent variable in the study which he uses to test his theory is a mean rating of the adolescent's responsibility by his teacher. We obtain similar results for one variable, the adolescent's reported compliance with the parents' wishes in cases when they disapprove of the child's friends. In an attempt to explain why the critical points are different for the two sexes, Bronfenbrenner hypothesizes that this is a function of the extent to which "the child had received affection and reward in the course of growing up... Hence, girls, who from early on, receive more affection and praise than boys are more responsive to discipline but, at the same time, more vulnerable to what we have called the risk of 'oversocialization'." "In contrast, boys require sterner treatment to achieve a somewhat lower level of absolute compliance, and more often suffer from too little affection and authority than from too much" (Bronfenbrenner, 1961b, p. 96). The same explanations which are utilized to explain the different behavior of boys and girls within a culture can be extended to account for the different behavior of children across cultures.

In both the United States and Denmark, the different patterns of parent-adolescent interactions related to each other in similar ways. We analyzed these interrelationships according to a relatively new technique, Non-Metric Multidimensional Scaling, designed to represent configurations between items based on the rank order of their correlations to each other. The same five items indicative of closeness of contact with the parent cluster together in the United States and Denmark, both for the mother and the father. In both countries, decision-making stands apart. The slight cross-cultural differences which appear in the configuration suggest that in certain instances the same pattern of parent-adolescent interaction in each country may occur in response to somewhat different behavior on the part of the parent. Thus, in Denmark, communication from the adolescent to the parent is related to the frequency of the parent's communications to the adolescent. In the United States, communication to the parent seems to depend more upon the degree of closeness the adolescent experienced toward his parents.

However, the overall similarity in the interrelationships are much more striking than the differences. This should not conceal the possibility that the overall distributions of the different items in the two countries and the preponderance of particular patterns in one culture as compared to the other leads to great differences in adolescent behavior in the two countries.

In this connection, inferences based upon the results of Elder's (1963) study may clarify the implications of the greater preponderance of the democratic pattern of decision-making and the greater frequency of parental explanation in Denmark than the United States for the issue of adolescent independence discussed in Chapter 7. Elder's (1963) study of parental power in adolescence examined the effects of parental power and of frequency of parental explanations on what he calls "autonomy" in the adolescent. Two questions assessed adolescent autonomy: one inquired about the adolescent's confidence that his ideas about what he would do were best for him, the other measured self-reliance in problem-solving and asked whether, when faced with an important decision about himself, the adolescent would let someone else decide for him or would get others' ideas but would make up his own mind. He dichotomized the answers to each of these questions and arrived at a fourfold typology of autonomy, with the following categories: self-confident and independent, self-confident and dependent, not confident and independent, not confident and dependent. He found that the effect of explanations on autonomy varied by the level of parental power. For children of democratic[1] and permissive parents, frequent explanations led to complete autonomy, that is, both self-confidence and independence. However, for children of autocratic parents, frequent explanations led to feelings of dependency. He concluded that "the legitimation of parental dominance has the effect of making his power more acceptable, and in doing so, heightens dependency needs as well as self-confidence" (Elder, 1963, p.65). These findings may help throw some light on the cross-cultural differences we have discussed in the preceding chapter. Denmark is characterized by a pattern of democratic authority and frequent parental explanations. According to Elder, this pattern is most likely to lead to autonomy in the child. In the American situation, however, there are a large number of families with authoritarian parental authority and frequent explanations. This again, according to Elder, is the ideal situation to lead to feelings of dependency "which may or may not be of a self-confident type." We find indeed that Danish adolescents are, subjectively at least, much more independent from their parents than the American.

It should be stressed, however, as we did earlier in this chapter, that the authoritarian pattern does not necessarily constitute a more effective form of parental control over the adolescent than either of the other two patterns. The greater preponderance of the authoritarian patterns in the American family may be indicative of an institution that is breaking apart as a communal unit; in the absence of shared norms, parents find it necessary to institute formal rules. External controls have to be substituted for internal ones. As we suggested in the preceding chapter, it could be hypothesized that the failure of such internal controls to have developed may result from ineffective socialization practices earlier in the life of the American child.

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[1] Democratic, in Elder's study, is differently defined than in our study.

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 2139
Contract No. OE-4-10-069

ADOLESCENTS IN TWO SOCIETIES: PEERS, SCHOOL, AND FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES AND DENMARK

Volume II

TE 499 988

Chapter 9

Family Interaction Patterns and Adolescent Involvement with Peers

The previous two chapters demonstrated important differences between American and Danish family structure. In particular, American adolescents are not involved in making decisions together with their parents as frequently as Danes; they are faced with many more rules and are expected to behave in a less independent fashion than the Danes. These different types of associations within the family may be associated with different ways of relating to peers.

Thus, this chapter investigates the association between the adolescents' relationships with their parents and relationships with their peers. The basic question here is whether interactions in one social system, that of the family, are related in specific and identifiable ways to social interactions outside that system, in particular to interactions with peers. Do certain patterns of interactions within the family inhibit or, on the contrary, facilitate the establishment of close ties outside the family and high involvement with peers? Do close ties within the family preclude the adolescent's intense involvement with his peers? Or, on the contrary, are close ties within the family associated with a generalized ability to establish close ties with individuals outside of it? In particular, what is the influence of parental authority pattern?

Thus, while the preceding five chapters described the general patterns of interaction within each of the peer and family systems in the two cultures, this chapter examines relationships that exist between participation in these two systems. There is surprisingly little empirical research of direct relevance to this problem.

The several American studies (Hoffman, 1960; Hoffman, Rosen and Lippitt, 1960; Peck, 1958; Maas, 1957; Warnath, 1955; Stone, 1960) which investigated peer behavior in relation to family structure used a variety of approaches, focused upon different age groups from elementary to high school age children, looked at different dimensions of family behavior, and used different indicators of sociometric behavior. No study has actually correlated type of social interaction in the family with rates of social interactions with peers in a school situation. Existing studies are concerned particularly with the personality consequences of different family structures. Relationships with peers is taken as another expresssion of the child's personality.

Several studies have focused on the relationship between authority in the family and the child's relationship to his peers. But family authority has meant different things to different investigators; it has referred to the type of relationship existing between the two parents as well as to the relationship between parent and child.

Hoffman (1961) examined paternal authority and affection both in relationship to the mother and to the child, among 445 children in grades 3 to 6. While the independent variables in the study (paternal authority and affection) are clearly defined, it is unclear what aspects of the child's peer behavior were considered. The author only indicates that "the child's peer relationships were assessed through teacher ratings and classroom sociometrics" (Hoffman, 1961, p. 27). Even in the discussion of the findings, the sociometric variables are not clearly described nor specified. The investigators report that boys and girls from mother-dominant homes were unsuccessful in influencing their peers. Boys from homes where the father disciplined more than the mother were more aggressive toward peers and had more influence over them. Girls from mother-dominant homes had difficult relations with boys and were disliked by their peers. Boys and girls who had warm relationships with the same-sex parent were adjusted in their peer relationships. Again, the criteria used to define level of peer adjustment are not specified.

In another report of the same study, Hoffman, Rosen and Lippitt (1960) examined the relation of parental coerciveness and autonomy on peer acceptance. They found that boys who had parents who were coercive but granted them high autonomy had higher peer acceptance than boys with parents who were coercive but did not grant them such autonomy. However, the results of that study are unclear. As Hoffman (1961) herself concludes, "We should now be able to say what role for the father will lead to good peer-group adjustment for the child. And yet we really cannot. For one thing, we are dealing with highs and lows on both independent and dependent variables when, in fact, relationships are rarely linear" (p. 104).

Several other studies also studied peer behavior as a general personality trait associated with different family structures with two general conclusions being reached: (1) adolescents from more secure homes are less involved with their peer group (Maas, 1957); and (2) democratic structure leads to general friendliness and effective social skills (Peck, 1958). These studies are based on interviews with very small samples.

In a longitudinal study of 34 boys and girls studied from the age of 10 to 18, Peck (1958) found that children from democratic homes where they shared in family decisions were more "friendly" and "spontaneous."

Maas (1957) conducted interviews with 21 boys and girls aged 10 to 15 from lower and "core culture" (middle-class) families. He reports that lower-class children come from authoritarian homes and establish strong and dependent relations with their peers. By contrast, "core culture" children, whom Maas reports to come from families in which equalitarian patterns exist between parents and among parents and children, are not as dependent upon their peers.

Warnath (1955) interviewed 64 9th grade boys, reporting that boys who had positive feelings toward their family and came from highly cohesive families were also quite active with their peers outside their family. Similarly, those boys who were low on family cohesiveness were also low on adolescent activities. Social acceptability and social effectiveness of these boys seemed to be directly related to their home atmosphere and to the opportunities in the home to learn social skills.

Perhaps the most relevant study is by Stone (1960), who examined a sample of almost 5,000 teenagers mostly of high school age. The dependent variable was participation in organizations and clubs in the school; several of the independent variables were family variables measured by Guttman scales, including democracy and affection. Democratic families were those "in which teenagers were allowed to make some of their own decisions and to share in family decisions." Stone found that the active teenagers were more likely to come from affectionate and democratic families. The tentative conclusion reached by Stone is that,

> Social participation of teen-agers does not seem to be a detriment to happy family living. The students who are active in organizations are most likely to be from homes that are happier, more affectionate, more democratic and more cooperative. They still carry on with responsibilities at home, in addition to outside activities.

The author hypothesizes that,

> The active ones perhaps receive encouragement in participating in group activities by receiving from their families the training and background necessary for successful adjustment in peer groups (Stone, 1960, p. 57).

Thus, several studies imply a direct relationship between involvement in the family and participation with peers. On the other hand, Coleman's (1961) thesis in The Adolescent Society suggests an inverse relationship between involvement in the family system, on the one hand, and the adolescent society on the other. If adolescents, as Coleman assumes, are indeed involved in separate adolescent societies, with goals and values at odds with their parents, then involvement with one group would be incompatible with involvement with the other, since the opposite demands made by each would create conflict for the adolescent. However, the results presented in Chapters 7 and 8 indicate that adolescents both in the United States and Denmark do have close ties with their parents, these ties being even closer in the United States, where the involvement with peers in a formal system of statuses is also more intense than in Denmark. Furthermore, we will show in the next two chapters, contrary to Coleman's assumption, that adolescents and adults do not form two distinct societies with consistently different values and attitudes. In some areas--namely those pertaining to peer activities and family relations--differences do appear between the two generations. However, on general life values, which are independent of the adolescent's immediate school experience and on future life goals, much similarity exists in the answers given by the two populations. Overall, there appears to be much less conflict between the two generations than had been suggested by Coleman. Thus, we can expect to find that intense interaction with one group does not necessarily preclude intense interaction with the other; indeed, the effect may be facilitating instead of interfering.

Two different aspects of the adolescent's interaction with his peers are examined here in relationship to family interaction patterns:

(1) The adolescent's subjective evaluation of how strongly he is oriented to his contemporaries, including the extent of his reliance upon his friends for advice and guidance when faced with specific problems;

(2) The intensity of the adolescent's actual interactions with peers, distinguishing between (a) informal contacts, as measured, for instance, by number of friends mentioned, and (b) status positions in the adolescent society, as measured, for instance, by number of mentions as member of the leading crowd, or as best athlete.

I. Subjective Orientation to Peers and Reliance on Friends for Advice:

A. Subjective Orientation to Peers:

The adolescent's subjective orientation to peers was not considered in the earlier Chapters 4, 5 and 6 dealing with sociometric behavior and the status system of adolescents in American and Danish secondary schools. We now will examine the nature of this subjective orientation before examining how it relates to family patterns.

The adolescent's subjective orientation to his peers was inferred from three questions that required him to pit parents against friends. Thus, he was asked:

(Q. 351) "Whose company do you enjoy more, your best friends' or your parents'?"
(Check one.)
- parents', much more
- parents', a little more
- about equal
- best friends', a little more
- best friends', much more

(Q. 352) "When you have problems, whose ideas and opinions do you respect more, your mother's or your best friends'?"
(Check one.)

(Q. 353) "When you have problems, whose ideas and opinions do you respect more, your father's or your best friends'?"
(Check one.)

> Each of these last two questions has the same five alternatives, ranging from the "parent's, much more" to "best friends', much more."

These three questions are highly related[1] and have been combined into an index. For each question, the alternatives were weighted 1 through 5, respectively. The index is the summed score over the three questions. For technical reasons involving the computer, 2 points were subtracted from the lower end of the scale, so that scores could range from 1 to 13. The higher the score on the index, the stronger the orientation toward peers. The scores actually observed in no case go beyond the midpoint (7.5) and are much closer to the parents' end of the scale than to the friends'. (Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9-1.) While the index measures an orientation that ranges from parents (low scores) to friends (high scores), the index is referred to as the index of peer orientation.

As shown in Table 9-1, Danish and American adolescents display similar scores, averaging 5.41 for Americans and 5.51 for the Danes and indicating overall a similar degree of subjective orientation to peers. While no differences appear between American and Danish boys, Danish girls appear to be slightly more peer-orientated, according to this index, than the American girls. But the differences are very slight. The important conclusion to be derived from this finding is that the orientation toward peers is similar in both countries, despite striking differences between them in the formal characteristics of adolescent peer groups. For example, we noted earlier in Chapter 4 that the formal structure of adolescent societies is less developed in Denmark than the United States and that Danish adolescents are less able than the Americans to identify who are the leaders among their peers. However, the involvement of the Danes in informal friendships out of school is, if anything, at least equal if not more intense than that of the Americans. Indeed, it will be recalled from our discussion in Chapter 6 that the Danes are more likely than the Americans to report that their best friend is not in the same school with them and to report that they see this out-of-school best friend more frequently than the Americans see their out-of-school friends. Out-of-school contacts with the best school-friends are somewhat lower in Denmark than in the United States (Chapter 6). Overall, however, much more similarity exists between the two countries in the patterns of informal friendships than in the characteristics of the formal peer culture within the school. This informal involve-

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[1] The correlations (as measured by tau-beta) are:

	United States	Denmark
Q. 351 x Q. 352	.285	.329
Q. 352 x Q. 353	.495	.555
Q. 351 x Q. 353	.282	.330

TABLE 9-1

Adolescent Subjective Orientation to Peers in the United States and Denmark, by Sex

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Score on Index of Peer Orientation[1,5]	5.15	5.67*	5.41*	5.13	5.85*	5.51*
Whose Company Enjoys Most (percent)[2]						
Parents' more	22%*	20%*	21%*	32%*	22%*	27%*
Parents' and Best Friends' equal	34	38	36	45	52	48
Best Friends' more	44	42	43	23	26	25
Whose Opinions Respect More (percent)[3]						
Mother's more	68%*	71%*	70*	57%*	56%*	57%*
Mother's and Best Friends' equal	23	18	21	35	33	34
Best Friends' more	9	11	9	7	10	9
Whose Opinions Respect More (percent)[4]						
Father's more	69%	58%*	63%*	69%	50%*	60%*
Father's and Best Friends' equal	19	18	19	26	35	30
Best Friends' more	12	24	18	5	15	10
Total N	(452)	(479)	(931)	(445)	(482)	(927)

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[1] Pass 58/285,6 The higher the score, the stronger the orientation toward peers. Scores could range from 1 to 13.

[2] Based on Qx. 351. Pass 101

[3] Based on Qx. 352. Pass 101

[4] Based on Qx. 353. Pass 101

[5] Standard deviations are:
2.74 2.95 2.86 2.5[illegible] .254 2.54

* Differences between countries significant at .001 (chi-square test)

ment may be a more important determinant of peer orientation than formal statuses. We will examine the relationship between peer involvement and actual interactions with peers in section 3 of this chapter.

It is instructive to examine the responses to each of the three individual questions included in the index of peer orientation for they each tap a somewhat different quality of peer orientation. The three individual questions ask about the relative preference of friends over parents under two somewhat different conditions: conditions under which friends (or parents) provide a context for association (the companionship function) and under which they stand as persons whose opinions and advice can be respected (the support function). The data indicate that when it comes to companionship, the Americans look more toward their peers than the Danes; when it comes to issues of advice and guidance, the Americans are somewhat more parent-oriented than the Danes, especially as regards their mothers. For example, Americans say more frequently than the Danes that they enjoy their friends' company more than their parents' (43% versus 25%), or that they respect their mothers' opinions over that of their best friends' (70% versus 57%). An interesting point emerges from the comparison of best friends' and fathers' opinions in the United States: despite the lower valuing of best friends' opinions in the United States, still an appreciable percentage of girls, and a number of boys as well, would value the opinions of their best friends more than their fathers'. We think that this should be assimilated not to respect for friends, but to disrespect for fathers.

Table 9-1 reveals another cross-cultural difference: for each of the three questions about subjective orientation to peers, more Danes than Americans check the alternative "about equal," indicating that they enjoy equally parents' and friends' company or respect equally friends' and parents' opinions much more frequently than the Americans. One can thus sense a dichotomy in the American adolescent relationship to his parents. He is more likely to turn to them for advice and guidance, but more likely to turn to his friends for companionship. The Danes are less likely than the Americans to disassociate these two functions, even though, like the Americans, they are more likely to say that they turn to their friends for company and to their parents for advice. The latter is their subjective perception of the situation. For, as we will see shortly, Danes receive higher absolute scores for reliance on friends than on either parent. The fact that Americans, more than Danes, enjoy their peers in comparison with their parents suggests that, despite all the advice to American parents to be a friend to their youngsters, American parents are much more rule setters than companions. The Danish parents, on the other hand, perhaps because they can relax vis-á-vis rules, are more likely to be seen as companions.

These cross-cultural differences must be viewed in their proper perspective: in both countries children are more likely to respect their parents' opinions than their friends' and to turn to their contemporaries than to their parents for companionship and pleasure-giving activities. The cross-cultural differences appear in the relative degree to which adolescents are likely to be peer- or parent-oriented in these two respects.

Answers to other items in the questionnaire support our interpretation that American and Danish adolescents turn to their peers for different reasons and derive different types of gratifications from these contacts. The Americans turn to their peers relatively more for pleasure-giving activities, the Danes relatively more for advice and guidance.

Several additional findings support our conclusion that Americans more than the Danes look to their friends for social rewards. The students were asked how much they enjoyed doing different things. The ten alternatives covered a range of activities from reading to dancing.[1] Two activities are particularly relevant to the dimensions of companionship, namely, going out with friends and dating. As shown in Table 9-2, many more Americans than Danes check the alternative "very much" for each of these things. It is true that for many of the remaining activities, the Americans are also more likely to check the positive extreme and the Danes the negative one. However, since response patterns vary from item to item and since the Danes actually check "very much" more frequently than the Americans on two items (studying and reading), this suggests that we are not dealing with a response bias on the part of the Americans.

When asked how important it is to them to be well liked by other students in the school, more Americans than Danes say it is very important to them (54% versus 32% - Pass 150). Thus, these answers indicate that for the Americans, more than for the Danes, contacts with peers are sought for the entertainment and the companionship they provide and that in return to be well liked and accepted by peers is very important to the American, more so than to the Dane.

B. Reliance on Friends for Advice:

Other data in addition to the parent-versus-peers items indicate that the Danes, as compared to the Americans, are more likely to report that they respect their peers' opinions and to turn to their contemporaries for advice and guidance. One such datum is the scores on indices of reliance on different persons. It will be recalled from Chapter 7 that respondents checked for each of ten problems the one person they would rely upon most for advice and guidance. An index of reliance for each of these persons was computed for each adolescent by adding the total number of times he mentioned relying upon that person. It also will be recalled that comparisons of absolute scores between the United States and Denmark is not possible, since Danes were asked to choose from among five rather than seven persons and consequently the Danish

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[1] Student questions 31-40. The ten activities included: enjoying art or classical music, studying, listening to the radio or to popular records, reading, watching T.V., dancing, engaging in some sport, dating, going out with friends, and talking about politics.

TABLE 9-2

How Much Adolescents Enjoy Dating and Going Out with Friends, by Sex and Country

Activity	Percent Liking Activity "Very Much"					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Dating	61	69	65	30	17	23
Going out with friends	76	83	79	39	50	45
Total N	(576)	(548)	(1124)	(470)	(506)	(976)

Pass 150/17,18,17-A,18A

Differences between countries significant at .001 (chi-square test) scores for each of the five persons identical in both lists is consistently higher than the Americans'. However, it is possible to make internal comparisons within each country. As shown in Table 9-3, Danish adolescents get a higher score of reliance on friends (2.76) than on mother (2.54) while the reverse is true for the Americans who score 1.95 and 2.67, respectively.

Again, these differences may reflect the different ways in which American and Danish adolescents are treated by their parents. The greater subjective reliance on parents of the Americans as compared to the Danes may reflect the fact that American parents give less independence to their children, as indicated by, among other data, the greater number of rules they have for the adolescent as compared to the Danish parents. Indeed, in both the United States and Denmark, we observe that the adolescent's reliance on his friends varies inversely with the number of rules in the family: the smaller the number of rules, the greater the greater the reliance (see Table 9-4). Conversely, the higher the number of rules, the greater the reliance on the mother, especially in the United States.

Danish adolescents may also not rely upon their parents for advice and guidance as much as the Americans because they feel much more frequently than the latter that their opinions are different from those of their parents. We saw in Chapter 8 that, when asked that question, 61% of the Danes as compared to 42% among the Americans feel that their opinions are different from their parents' (Table 8-5). And, as shown in Table 9-5, it is when adolescents feel that their opinions are different from those of their parents that they are more likely to rely upon their friends than upon their parents for advice and guidance. In both countries, the scores of reliance on mother is higher than that on friends when the adolescent perceives that his opinions are similar to his parents'; the reliance scores are lower on parents when the adolescent perceives that his opinions are different (Table 9-5). Thus, American adolescents who feel their opinions are similar to their parents' receive a score of reliance of 2.99 for mother and 1.73 for friends. On the other hand, when they feel that their opinions are different from their parents', they score 2.27 on reliance for mother versus 2.43 for friends. We conclude from these data that the overall Danish score of reliance on mother is lower than on friends because such a high proportion of Danes feel that they hold opinions different from their parents. This is not the case in the United States.

C. Subjective Orientation to Peers and Peer Influence:

By several criteria, the "index of peer orientation" seems to be a sensitive indicator of the degree to which the student reports he is subjected to the influence of his peers. Adolescents were asked how they would resolve a conflict with their friends:

TABLE 9-3

Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends[1], on Mother and on Father, by Sex and Country

Score of Reliance on	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Friends	1.95	1.95	1.95	2.66	2.85	2.76
Mother	1.90	3.43	2.67	2.04	3.00	2.54
Father	1.35	.55	.94	2.00	1.17	1.56
Total N	(531)	(543)	(1074)	(465)	(504)	(969)

Pass 35

[1] The higher the score, the greater the reliance.

TABLE 9-4

Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends, on Mother and on Father and Number of Rules in Family, by Country

	Scores on Indices of Reliance on							
Number of Rules	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Friends*	Mother*	Father	Total N	Friends*	Mother	Father	Total N
0-1	2.48	2.35	.91	(224)	2.92	2.58	1.49	(459)
2-3	1.99	2.56	.99	(367)	2.68	2.50	1.64	(321)
4+	1.74	3.17	.91	(306)	2.39	2.70	1.64	(134)

Pass 231/31

*Differences among number of rules for each person within each country significant at .05 (chi-square test based on distribution of scores).

TABLE 9-5

Scores on Indices of Reliance on Friends, on Mother and on Father and Whether Adolescent Feels his Opinions are Different or Similar to his Parents, by Country

Adolescent Feels that Opinions are	Scores on Indices of Reliance on UNITED STATES Friends	 Mother	 Father	 DENMARK Friends	 Mother	 Father
Similar to parents'*	1.73	2.99	.94	2.33	2.86	1.63
Total N	(477)	(477)	(477)	(332)	(332)	(332)
Different from parents'*	2.43	2.27	.82	3.08	2.39	1.50
Total N	(353)	(353)	(353)	(513)	(513)	(513)

P35/T15A;15B;15C

*Differences among scores for friends, mother and father within each country significant at .05 (chi-square test based on distribution of scores within each category).

(Q. 177) "What do you do, when you disagree with your group of friends about a decision they have made?" (Check only one.)

- I always go along with the group
- I usually go along with the group
- I usually decide for myself
- I always decide for myself

As shown in Table 9-6, in both the United States and Denmark, those adolescents who reply that they would go along with the group have higher scores on the index than those who say that they would decide for themselves.

It also appears that there is greater orientation toward peers when a conflict exists between parents and adolescents about the adolescent's friends. Or, the conflict may exist because there is a greater orientation toward peers. When the adolescents report that their parents generally approve of their friends they tend to have lower subjective peer orientation than when they report that their parents object to their friends (see Table 9-6). Thus, we can infer from these findings that adolescents who associate with friends of whom their parents disapprove are more peer-oriented than those whose friends meet with their parents' approval. This is confirmed by the result, in both the United States and Denmark, that students who say that they would continue seeing their friends despite their parents' objections have a much stronger orientation toward their peers than those adolescents who say that they would stop seeing their friends. For example, American adolescents who say that they would continue to see their friends openly score 6.16 as compared to 4.59 for those who say that they would stop. Similar differences appear among the Danes (Table 9-6). The highest scores are obtained by students who say that they would continue to see their friends secretly. Furthermore, in the United States, disregarding parents' wishes and continuing to see one's friends seems to require a greater orientation to peers than in Denmark. It is apparently a greater step than in Denmark and might reflect the greater prominence of rules in the United States than in Denmark.

Finally, one can note that there is a strong association between the indices of peer orientation and of reliance on friends. Subjective peer orientation is positively related to the scores of reliance on peers and negatively related to the scores of reliance on parents. The results in all instances are striking and follow identical trends in the United States and Denmark (Table 9-7). In the United States, the positive association with the friends' index is higher for girls than for boys.

The Danes' greater reliance upon friends for advice and guidance, as compared to the Americans, is selective and appears in connection with certain issues, in particular those of a personal or ethical character. Table 9-8 presents the responses of the two nationalities to each of the ten problems which were incorporated in the indices of reliance.

TABLE 9-6

Subjective Orientation to Peers and Influence to Peers, by Country

	Score on Index of Peer Orientation			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Score	N	Score	N
What adolescent does when disagrees with a group of friends about a decision they have made				
Always, usually goes along with group	5.48	(256)	* 5.69	(378)
Usually decides for self	5.46	(480)	5.49	(453)
Always decides for self	5.18	(190)	4.99	(87)
What do parents think of friends in school?				
Approve very much	* 5.06	(386)	* 5.34	(435)
Approve for most part	5.42	(379)	5.51	(349)
Disapprove slightly, very much	6.78	(41)	5.86	(22)
Do not know friends	6.10	(121)	6.04	(113)
What would do if parents were to object to friends?				
Would see friends less or stop seeing them	** 4.59	(469)	* 4.73	(363)
Would see friends secretly	7.30	(40)	6.18	(55)
Would see friends openly	6.16	(418)	6.00	(495)

Pass 142/02,03, Pass 108/53

*,**Differences within country significant at .05, .01 levels (chi-square test based on distribution of scores within each category).

TABLE 9-7

Correlation between Subjective Peer Orientation and
Scores on Indices of Reliance, by Sex and Country

	Correlation with Index of Peer Orientation[1]			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
Score of Reliance on	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Friends	.32**	.48**	.40**	.44**
Mother	-.14**	-.34**	-.22**	-.21**
Father	-.20**	-.19**	-.25**	-.15**
Total N	(436)	(477)	(440)	(479)

Pass 122/26,23 - DATA TEXT

[1] As measured by Pearson r

**Significant at .01

TABLE 9-8

Person Adolescent would Rely Upon most for Advice and Guidance* when Faced with Problem, in the United States and Denmark

	Person Would Rely Upon Most for Advice and Guidance							
Type of Problem	Friends %	Mother %	Father %	Siblings %	Teacher %	Guidance Counselor %	Other %	Total N
School grades								
U.S.	3	15	5	2	43	31	1	(1057)
Denmark	6	25	19	3	42	--	5	(955)
Career plans								
U.S.	4	23	17	3	3	46	4	(1053)
Denmark	4	23	53	2	8	--	10	(947)
College								
U.S.	3	15	15	2	10	52	3	(994)
Denmark	8	18	28	2	38	--	6	(846)
Personal problems with parents								
U.S.	25	20	7	16	2	6	24	(1042)
Denmark	28	26	9	30	3	--	4	(912)
Personal problems not involving parents								
U.S.	33	32	10	10	2	3	10	(1032)
Denmark	49	26	7	13	2	--	3	(923)
Morals and values								
U.S.	17	39	12	6	3	2	21	(1008)
Denmark	49	22	12	9	5	--	3	(911)
Dating								
U.S.	35	36	13	11	--	1	4	(1027)
Denmark	47	33	7	9	--	--	4	(926)
What clothing to buy								
U.S.	30	51	6	9	--	--	4	(1018)
Denmark	20	61	6	8	--	--	5	(936)
Choice of friends								
U.S.	30	40	10	10	1	1	8	(972)
Denmark	31	27	11	25	--	--	6	(861)
What books to read								
U.S.	27	10	4	5	48	3	3	(999)
Denmark	52	7	15	10	14	--	2	(904)

Pass 91/01-09

*All differences between United States and Denmark for each problem significant at .001 level (chi-square test).

In both countries, adolescents are more likely to turn to adults for help in solving certain problems and to their peers for certain others. However, whereas the Americans turn to an adult in eight out of the ten situations, Danes do so only in four. The Americans rely slightly more on friends than on parents for personal problems, whether or not they involve their parents. For all other issues, they are most likely to rely upon their mother, their teacher or the school guidance counselor. The Danes, on the other hand, are more likely to rely on friends than on parents not only for personal problems not involving parents, but also for morals and values, for dating or for what books to read (Table 9-8). The cross-cultural differences with respect to books would suggest that while, in Denmark, books are very much part of the interaction among friends, in the United States they are reserved solely for the school situation. For problems related strictly to the school situation, such as school grades, both Danes and Americans are most likely to consult their teachers. But for this type of problem as well as for career plans or college, Danes are more likely to rely upon their parents while the Americans would be likely to rely upon the school guidance counselor. Thus, for school-related issues, Americans have professional alternatives to parents, while Danes do not. So for these issues Danes go to their parents while for most others they are much more likely to take problems to their friends than are Americans. For future life goals, such as job or education, the Danish father is much more sought out as a source of advice than the American. Thus, 53% of Danish adolescents say they would rely upon their fathers' advice about their future career plans as compared to only 17% among the Americans. For problems involving parents, the Danes would rely upon their siblings, the Americans would turn to "others" (a category which includes mostly clergymen). For choice of friends, the Danes again would rely most upon their siblings and the Americans upon their parents. This last difference is particularly instructive for it suggests that, in the case of the Americans, contacts with peers are consciously put under the influence of parents, while in the case of the Danes peer contacts are under the influence of their contemporaries, whether friends or siblings.

The general conclusion that the influence of parents and peers varies with the issue under consideration is in accord with the conclusions of other investigators (Brittain, 1963; Solomon, 1961, 1963). But, since these studies use different techniques and present the respondents with different alternatives from which to compare the relative influence of parents and peers, it is difficult to make comparisons of the specific areas in which the influence of one group is greater than that of the other.

In an experimental study, Brittain (1963) presented 338 adolescent girls with twelve different choices to make under conditions of simulated parent-peer pressures. He found that items which asked about which course to take in school or which dress to buy tended to lead to peer-conforming choices. Items about dating, reporting delinquency act by another adolescent, being a beauty contestant or appearing on a TV program, tended to lead to parent-conforming choices. The list of problem areas in our study and our procedures are very different from those used by Brittain. On the two items which are similar in both studies, namely, dating and dressing, we do not find similar results in our United States sample. We find that adolescents are more likely to be influenced by parents than by peers with respect to dress and equally influenced by both with respect to dating.

Solomon (1961, 1963) reached opposite conclusions from Brittain concerning the relative extent and effectiveness of four possible sources of influences, "parents, peers, impulses and values" in four situations: going steady, breaking a friendship, copying, and attending a family event rather than a party. He found that, while parents were least influential in most of these situations, they were rated high in general preference as source of advice. "The amount of influence exerted had no necessary relationship to the acceptance of that influence, or conformity to its advice" (Solomon, 1961, p. 393). This perhaps explains the disparity between these results and ours, since in this study we ask about preference for advice (and influence) rather than for actual acceptance of that advice or influence.

II. The Effects of Family Patterns:

Having described in some detail the meaning of subjective orientation to peers, we turn to the relationship between parent-adolescent interactions and the adolescent's involvement with his peers. We will examine in turn the effects of family patterns upon subjective orientation, reliance on friends for advice, and actual interactions with peers, whether formal or informal.

A. Family Patterns and Subjective Orientation to Peers:

Family patterns have a consistent and marked effect on adolescents' subjective orientations to peers and on the extent to which adolescents rely upon friends in solving their problems.

There is a strong negative relationship between several aspects of the adolescents' closeness of contact with their parents and their subjective peer orientation (see Table 9-9). The results are identical in the United States and Denmark with respect both to maternal and paternal patterns, and are highly significant. Adolescents are most likely to have a strong peer orientation if their relationships with their mothers and fathers are distant, in particular, if adolescents perceive that:

- their mothers and fathers are permissive
- their parents provide infrequent explanations for their decisions
- they enjoy doing few things with their parents
- they talk few problems over with their parents
- they do not feel close at all to their parents, or
- they want to be like their parents in only a few ways.

TABLE 9-9

Correlation[1] between Index of Peer Orientation and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	-.15**[2]	.03[2]	-.17**[2]	-.22**[2]
Mother explains decisions	-.22**	-.36**	-.24**	-.26**
Adolescent enjoys things with mother	-.41**	-.49**	-.40**	-.35**
Adolescent talks problems over with mother	-.35**	-.48**	-.33**	-.36**
Wants to be like mother	-.32**	-.46**	-.36**	-.27**
Closeness to mother	-.38**	-.50**	-.42**	-.42**
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.19**[2]	-.01[2]	-.14**[2]	-.22**[2]
Father explains decisions	-.29**	-.35**	-.24**	-.30**
Adolescent enjoys things with father	-.46**	-.42**	-.37**	-.37**
Adolescent talks problems over with father	-.44**	-.42**	-.34**	-.33**
Wants to be like father	-.43**	-.40**	-.33**	-.36**
Closeness to father	-.50**	-.49**	-.46**	-.43**
Total N	(436)	(477)	(440)	(479)

Pass 100/01-06, 01A-06A, 08-13, 08A-13A - DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlation measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive interaction.

[2] These relationships are curvilinear. Girls who perceive their parent to be democratic have the lowest subjective peer orientation. For boys, no difference appears between authoritarian and democratic fathers.

**p < .01 level

It is not surprising to find that the same five patterns of parent-adolescent interaction which clustered together in the MEDSCAL (Non-Metric Multidimensional) analysis of family patterns (Chapter 8, Configurations 1A, 1B, 2A and 2B) relate in a similar fashion to the index of peer orientation. With respect to authority pattern, different relationships obtain for boys and girls. The cross-tabulations corresponding to the correlations presented in Table 9-9 indicate that for boys the relationship of peer orientation to maternal authority is linear: boys with authoritarian mothers have the lowest peer-orientation scores and those with permissive the highest scores. For boys still, with respect to paternal authority, no difference appears between the authoritarian and the democratic. For girls, on the other hand, both with respect to mother and father, the relationship is curvilinear: girls with democratic parents have the lowest scores of orientation toward peers, those with authoritarian the next highest and those with permissive the highest. These sex differences repeat those observed in Chapter 8 in the analysis of family structures. We found that in both the United States and Denmark, adolescents of both sexes are most distant from parents they perceive as permissive. However, while girls are closest to parents they perceive as democratic, in the case of boys, the differences between authoritarian and democratic are much reduced. Sometimes, as in this instance, for boys, the authoritarian pattern is associated with least distance from child to parent.

B. Family Patterns and Reliance on Friends for Advice:

Similar trends are observed between family patterns and the extent to which the adolescent relies upon his friends for advice and guidance as have been observed with respect to peer orientation. The closer the parental ties, the less the reliance on friends (Table 9-10). The correlations with respect to peer orientation were higher and more consistently significant than with respect to reliance on friends for advice. Thus, parental authority and parental explanations, especially in the United States and with respect to the father, bear less of a relationship to reliance on friends' advice.

These results complete those presented in Chapter 8 on "The Structure of Families," where we showed that positive relationships with mothers and fathers were associated with higher scores of reliance on parents. We see now that positive family ties simultaneously are associated with lower reliance on friends.

C. Family Patterns and Sociometric Behavior:

While there is a strong association between family patterns and subjective orientation to peers, the results with respect to actual patterns of interaction with peers, whether informal or formal, are very inconclusive. It is clear, however, that there is no strong inverse relationship between intensity of involvement with parents and actual frequency of contact with peers, as there is for the data on "subjective orientation to peers." If anything, whatever slight trends can be observed suggest a positive relationship instead.

TABLE 9-10

Correlations[1] between Index of Reliance on Friend and Family Patterns

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	-.10*	-.06[2]	-.15**	-.14**[2]
Mother explains decision	.00	-.15**	-.09	-.12**
Enjoys things with mother	-.16**	-.32**	-.31**	-.22**
Talk problems with mother	-.12**	-.31**	-.30**	-.30**
Be like mother	-.12**	-.23**	-.25**	-.15**
Closeness to mother	-.16**	-.28**	-.23**	-.23**
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	-.13*	-.38**	-.24**	-.23**
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.04	.03[2]	-.16**	-.05
Father explains decision	-.05	-.07	-.11*	-.15**
Enjoys things with father	-.17**	-.18**	-.23**	-.19**
Talk problems with father	-.18**	-.23**	-.25**	-.21**
Be like father	-.18**	-.07	-.19**	-.12**
Closeness to father	-.18**	-.14**	-.20**	-.12*
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.15**	-.21**	-.22**	-.19**
Total N	(436)	(477)	(440)	(479)

Pass 130/01-16- DATA TEXT

[1] Correlation measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive interaction.

[2] These relationships are curvilinear. Girls who perceive their parents to be democratic have the lowest score of reliance on friends.

* $p < .05$; **$p < .01$

As indicators of behavioral involvement with peers, we considered both the extent of informal friendships and the degree of participation in the formal structure of the school-based peer group.

For informal interaction with other adolescents, we examined number of friendships and frequency of interaction, as indicated by:

- Number of friends in school (Qx. 47a). Each adolescent was requested to list his three best friends, but some mentioned none or only one or two
- Number of mentions as friend by other students (Qx. 47a)
- Number of times see school friends outside of school (Qx. 48-50)
- Number of times sees best friends, if not in same school with respondent (Qx. 47)

For formal positions of leadership in the adolescent society, we examined nominations as leader or as elite in the school, namely:

- Number of mentions as member of the leading crowd (Qx. 54a)
- Number of mentions as best athlete (Qx. 50a)
- Number of mentions as best student (Qx. 50a)
- Number of mentions as most popular (Qx. 50a)
- Number of clubs in which is member (for U.S. only) (Qxs. 112-122)

The results show no consistent patterns, either by sex, type of sociometric variable or country. Most of the correlations are very low and hover around zero, either in a negative or a positive direction. Rarely is a correlation coefficient statistically significant, and it may be significant for one family pattern and very low and not significant for another pattern that is closely related to the first.[1] The direction and intensity of the relationships appear to vary with the sex of the child, the sex of the parent, the sociometric status, and the country involved. The most consistent trend appears among Danish boys for whom closeness to the father is related to mentioning many friends.

Our general conclusion is that family structure does not influence the actual involvement but only the general subjective orientation which the adolescent has toward his peers.

III. Objective Sociometric Behavior and Subjective Orientation to Peers:

This general interpretation becomes more meaningful when one observes that actual sociometric behavior is not related in a consistent manner to the student's subjective orientation to his peers. This is a rather surprising finding, since one would certainly have expected students who are very active in the adolescent society to be more peer-oriented than the others.

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[1] The data are presented in Appendix Tables D-9-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

However, there is no consistent positive association between the different indicators of participation in the peer society and scores on the index of peer orientation. The correlation coefficients are presented in Appendix Table D-9-7.No consistent pattern appears either by sex or by country.

We had hypothesized at the beginning of this chapter that the similar subjective orientation toward peers in the United States and Denmark might be related to the character of informal rather than formal contacts with peers. The data above do not support this hypothesis--subjective orientation is related to neither type of contacts with peers.

Somewhat stronger positive associations obtain between sociometric behavior and reliance on friends for advice, with the exception of the Danish boys (see Table 9-11), than with peer orientation. In the United States, membership in the leading crowd and number of mentions as someone to be friend with for both boys and girls, popularity with the opposite sex and being a best athlete for boys and frequency of contact with best school friend for girls are related to reliance on friends for advice (see Table 9-11). For both boys and girls, the relationship with number of friends named is curvilinear, those naming no friends relying more on their friends for advice than those adolescents naming one friend. In Denmark, there is no significant association for the boys. For Danish girls, there is some association for leading crowd membership, best student, best friend and those variables indicative of more active informal friendships, such as number of friends named or frequency of contacts.

These findings are mostly negative ones and stand in sharp contrast to those observed when we examined subjective peer orientation and reliance on friends in relation to family patterns (see Tables 9-9 and 9-10). The adolescent's subjective orientation toward peers and his reliance upon peers for advice and guidance is much less related to the extent of his interaction with his peers than to the nature of his relationship with his parents.

Table 9-12 illustrates very strikingly the greater importance in both countries of family ties over participation in the peer culture in determining the adolescent's subjective peer orientation. This table presents the degree of adolescent peer orientation when closeness to parents and extent of participation in the peer culture are simultaneously held constant. Five different sociometric statuses were considered: number of mentions as leading crowd member, popular with the opposite sex, best student, best athlete and best friend. For each category of sociometric mentions, the differences in scores between adolescents who feel very close and those who do not feel close to their parents is much greater than the differences in the scores of

TABLE 9-11

Correlations[1] between Index of Reliance on Friends and Sociometric Behavior, by Sex and Country

Number of Mentions as:	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Leading crowd member	.11**	.14**	.00	.09*
Popular with opposite sex	.13**	.04	-.02	.02
Best student	.01	-.02	-.02	.10*
Best athlete (Best dressed)	.11**	.02	-.01	.04
Best friend	.12**	.13**	-.04	.16**
Number of friends named	.14**[2]	.06[2]	.02	.09*
Contact with best school friend	.01	.11**	-.01	.14**
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 128 - DATA TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r

[2] Curvilinear relationships

*p <05; **p <.01

TABLE 9-12

Peer Orientation, Sociometric Behavior, and Closeness to Mother, by Country

	Index of Peer Orientation							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
Sociometric Behavior: No. of Mentions as	High Closeness		Low Closeness		High Closeness		Low Closeness	
	Score	N	Score	N	Score	N	Score	N
Leading crowd member[1]								
0	4.38	(205)	6.79	(155)*	4.68	(281)	6.26	(206)*
1-2	4.55	(204)	6.46	(113)*	5.01	(156)	6.67	(124)*
3	5.12	(170)	6.66	(82)*	4.99	(97)	6.58	(60)
Popular with opposite sex								
0-1	4.58	(508)	6.59	(311)*	4.74	(454)	6.37	(334)*
2 and over	5.24	(71)	7.18	(39)	5.34	(80)	6.86	(56)
Best student[1]								
0-1	4.73	(501)	6.77	(297)*	4.85	(431)	6.36*	(330)*
2 and over	4.22	(78)	6.02	(53)	4.77	(103)	6.88	(60)*
Best athlete (Best dressed)[1]								
0-1	4.60	(491)	6.62	(312)*	4.84	(450)	6.44	(337)*
2 and over	4.95	(88)	6.95	(38)*	4.77	(84)	6.45	(53)*
Best friend[2]								
0	4.24	(59)	6.39	(33)	4.33	(33)	6.50	(34)
1-2	4.58	(273)	6.54	(170)*	4.80	(249)	6.33	(192)*
3 and over	4.85	(247)	6.84	(147)*	4.94	(252)	6.21	(164)*

[1] Based on Qx. 54a and 50a. Pass 123/05-08
[2] Based on Qx. 50a. Pass 126/17-18

*$p < .05$ for difference between high and low closeness within each country (chi-square test based on distribution of scores within each category).

adolescents with different number of mentions who experience the same closeness to their parents. For example, among students who receive 3 or more mentions as members of the leading crowd in the United States, those who also feel very close to their parents receive a score of 5.12 as compared to 6.66 for those who do not feel close; a difference of 1.44 points. On the other hand, within the high closeness category, scores range from 4.38 among those who receive no leading crowd mentions to 5.12 among those who receive 3 or more mentions, a difference of .74 points. Furthermore, there are no overlaps in the mean scores of students in the high and low closeness groups. The highest mean score received by any group in the high maternal closeness category is lower than the lowest score in the low closeness group. Similar results are obtained for all other indicators of participation in the peer society. The least peer-oriented students are those who are very close to their parents and also receive few sociometric mentions. But the most sociometrically active students who are very close to their parents get much lower scores of peer orientation than the least active adolescents who are distant from their parents.

The same trends appear in connection with reliance on friends. Memberhip in the leading crowd was dichotomized into low (0-1 mentions) versus high (2 or more). Coleman's unweighted effect parameters were computed to estimate the effect of peer involvement on reliance on friends when closeness to parent was controlled for. In both countries, closeness to parent has a much greater effect upon reliance on friends than objective peer involvement. Thus, in the United States, the respective effect estimates for leading crowd membership is .095 and for closeness to parent -.165; respective estimated effects for Denmark are .010 and -.110.

These data provide strong evidence for our conclusion that the subjective orientation which adolescents have toward their peers is related more to their interactions with their parents than to their actual participation in the peer culture.

IV. Conclusion:

Several conclusions emerge from the data presented in this chapter:

(1) The general level of subjective peer orientation is similar in both the United States and Denmark.

(2) Orientations toward peers and toward parents are not all-or-none phenomena, operating equally in all areas of behavior. In certain areas, they may be quite intense; in others, they may be quite low.

(3) The peer group appears to serve somewhat different functions in the two countries under study. In the United States, peers are seen as companions in social activities. In Denmark, peers are seen more as responsible colleagues whose opinions and advice are sought when one is faced with a problem. One may speculate that this, in turn, may be related to the ways in which adolescents are raised in both coun-

tries and to the amount of freedom and independence that they are granted. One may speculate that American adolescents do not turn to their peers for advice because their peers, just like themselves, are children. But they associate more with them because the family is less a context for social activity.

(4) In both countries, while the adolescent's subjective orientation to his peers is strongly related to his perception of the kinds of interactions he has with his parents, the actual extent of his participation in the peer group is independent of his involvement with his family.

The theory which Coleman (1961) presents in The Adolescent Society is essentially an hydraulic one in which the strength of an individual's involvement with one group precludes his establishing strong ties with another. He hypothesizes that adolescents fall back on each other because they have little contact with parents and other adults.

Our data do not support such a model. Thus, Coleman's theory would have led us to find a negative correlation between adolescents' sociometric behavior and intensity of parental ties. However, we have failed to find any relationship, either negative or positive, between family patterns and our indices of actual participation in the peer society. Furthermore, American adolescents who have a more defined peer society than the Danes are more likely than the Danes to say that they would rely upon their parents for advice. And, despite their different peer group structures, Americans and Danes hold similar subjective peer orientations. Subjective peer orientation and reliance upon peers for advice and guidance are much less related to the extent of adolescents' interaction with peers than to the nature of their parental relationships. We found, indeed, as we stressed above, that adolescents' subjective orientation to peers is inversely related to the strength of their parental ties. But actual contacts with peers seem to be independent of internal relationships within the family and must depend upon other cultural factors outside the family system itself.

Chapter 10

Concordance on Values Between the Adolescent, His Mother and His Best-School-Friend

Introduction:

The concept of adolescent subculture, the extent to which adolescents are separate from adults, and the assertion that adolescents are influenced more by their peers than by their parents, have not received adequate empirical documentation (Berger, 1963; Jahoda and Warren, 1965). In order to assess the adolescent's separateness from adults, data are needed about (1) the nature of adolescent interactions with adults, about (2) the similarity or dissimilarity in the values, attitudes and goals held by the two generations, and about (3) the relative concordance of adolescent's attitudes and values with their peers and with their parents.

The report so far has dealt mainly with the nature of adolescents' social associations with their peers in school on the one hand and with parents on the other. We were led to two major conclusions.

(1) In Denmark, the formal structure of the school-based adolescent society is less well delineated than in the United States.

(2) In both the United States and Denmark, adolescents report close contacts with their parents. The American parent, in particular, exercises more control over his child than has been granted by most observers of American life.

We now turn to the questions of similarity in values and goals between the two generations, and the competing influences of parents and peers on the adolescent.

The extent to which parents transmit their values and goals to their children, the factors within and outside the family which facilitate such transmission, the relative similarity of adolescents' values to peers and parents are questions which have not been approached empirically to any great extent. The question of competing influences of peers and parents on adolescents' values has not been investigated empirically on matched samples of adolescents, mothers and adolescent's peers.[1] Very few studies have even focused upon adolescent-peer or adolescent-parent consensus on various attitudes and values.

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[1] The two studies (McDill and Coleman, 1965; Simpson, 1962) which attempted to study these competing influences on educational goals will be reviewed in the next chapter. Neither, however, was based on actual triads. Indirect indicators of goals were used for one of the three persons, either the parent or the peer.

Studies of peer influence on values, such as those of Gordon (1957), Wilson (1959), Hollingshead (1959), Coleman (1961), Michael (1961), Ramsøy (1962), Tannenbaum, (1962), Turner (1964), Boyle (1966), or McDill, Myers and Rigsby (1966), have been concerned with the influence of the climate of values provided by high schools. These climates were assessed from aggregating the answers provided by individual students in the school. The climate influence was rightfully taken to represent peer influence. However, the consensus between matched pairs of adolescent-peer in the school was not investigated. The technique of measuring the individual's "interpersonal environment" (Wallace, 1964; 1966; Rossi, 1966) provided a great advance since it attempted to measure the values in the individual's immediate social environment.

A recent unpublished report concerned primarily with determining changes in the personal values of students during high school and the impact of teachers on these values, correlated the values of mutual friendship pairs in the freshman and senior year in ten schools (Thompson and Carr, 1966). Thompson and Carr investigated occupational values, traditional values and eight personal values that included scales on puritan morality, individualism, work success, future time orientation, sociability, conformity, moral relativism and present time orientation. These authors concluded:

> Comparisons of personal values of mutual friends for the most part produced very small correlation coefficients. Significant $\underline{r}$ values were limited almost exclusively to total groups of males and females and a combination of the two. (. 64.)

Within each individual school, there were no significant relationships between the values of friends.

Relative to the problem of concordance between friends' values, the transmission of values from parent to child has received more empirical attention. However, this empirical work is very limited. In the most recent and exhaustive review of the literature, Furstenberg (1967) identifies 26 studies since 1935 which attempt to deal with the problem of the transmission of values from parents to children.

We reproduce below Furstenberg's summary chart of existing studies. It is clear that these studies have been based on very limited samples and have investigated a great variety of attitudes and values but, in particular, religious and political attitudes. Only two of the studies identified by Furstenberg (Kahl, 1953; Cohen, 1965) have dealt with educational or occupational goals. The correlation levels vary greatly from study to study. The most consistent finding to emerge is the greater agreement between same-sex parent-child pairs than between cross-sex pairs. Agreement is particularly high in mother-daughter pairs.

CHART 10-1

Reproduced from Furstenberg (1967)

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON INTRAFAMILY CORRELATION

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Kirkpatrick & Stone (1935)	172 college students and one or both parents.	Religious beliefs. Correlations ranged from .33 to .62 depending on the sex relationship.	1. Children's attitudes were more closely related to mothers' than to fathers' attitudes.
Morgan & Remmers (1935)	15 high school and college students and their parents.	Various social policies. Fathers and children yielded over all correlations of .679; mothers and children, .650. These correlations are not statistically significant because of the small sample.	
Kirkpatrick (1936)	135 college students and one or both parents.	Feminist attitudes. Correlation ranged from -.10 to .39 depending on the sex relationship.	1. Mother-daughter correlations were consistently higher than other parent-child pairs. 2. Children's attitudes are closer to their mothers' than to their fathers'. 3. Where child was "intimate" with both parents, higher correlations in attitudes were found.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Peterson (1936)	From 47 to 89 pairs of parents and children in high school, depending on type of attitude and particular family members.	Ten social and political attitudes. Correlations ranged from -.047 to .760 depending on parent-child pair and attitude studied. Most of the correlations were between .2 and .6.	1. Mothers' attitudes had more relation to children than did fathers. 2. Children were generally more liberal than their parents. Peterson believes that childre may affect their parents' attitudes.
Stagner (1936)	More than 100 college freshmen and their parents.	Political liberalism and party choice. On a measure of political liberalism few of the children obtained the same score as their parents. There was much higher agreement on party choice. (No measure of correlation provided.)	1. Boys were less likely to share parental party choice than girls.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Newcomb and Svehla (1937)	180 high school students, 278 college students, 32 Jewish youth, 43 youth from foreign section of city, and 25 miscellaneous; one or both parents.	Church, war and communism. Correlations ranged from .43 to .76. Intrafamily correlations were highest on religion and lowest on war.	1. Mothers' and daughters' church attitudes are more closely related than the attitudes of other pairs. However, no consistent differences were found between parent-child pairs on other attitudes. 2. Parent-child correlations are higher in the lower SES groups 3. Age does not affect the degree of intrafamily correlation when other factors are held constant. 4. Agreement on church attitudes and communism is lower among Protestants and Catholics than among Jews.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Remmers and Whisler (1938)	Depending on type of attitude and family member, from 33 to 77 parent-child pairs (sample source not given).	Same attitudes as were used in the Peterson study, plus attitudes on unemployment relief, sex education, divorce and labor unions. Correlations ranged from -.02 (sex education) to .74 (labor unions and unemployment relief).	1. Mothers' attitudes were more similar to children's than were fathers'.
Duffy (1941)	38 college girls and their parents.	War and treatment of criminals. On neither were daughters' and parents' attitudes significantly related. Correlations ranged from .03 to .31.	1. Agreement was higher between mother and daughter on attitudes toward war and between father and daughter on attitudes toward criminals.
Hirschberg and Gilliland (1942)	About 200 college students and parents.	Attitudes toward God (average correlation .29), the Depression (average correlation .59), and the New Deal (average correlation .42).	1. Mothers' attitudes were slightly more in agreement with children's attitudes on all three indexes.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Remmers and Weltman (1947)	207 high school students and their families.	A variety of social, political, and educational attitudes. Nine out of 16 items were significantly related for parents and children. The significant items were not clustered in any one content area. Over all correlation of all 16 was .86. Political preference of parents and children was highly related.	1. Older children's attitudes may be less like their parents than younger children's. 2. Children's attitudes resemble their parents' attitudes more than their teacher's. 3. Parents' SES or political preference had little effect on the degree of correlation. 4. There was more agreement between siblings than between parents and children.
Bassett (1948)	87 high school students and their parents.	The likelihood of higher prices; the likelihood of war. For neither question was there significant association between parents and children.	

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Fisher (1948)	From 79 to 168 parent-child pairs of college students. In some cases, both parents were interviewed.	Various economic, religious and moral attitudes. Correlations averaged .42. The median correlation on the Allport-Vernon Value Inventory was .261. Of the individual correlations, only two correlations were negative.	1. Mothers and daughters agreed more often than other parent-child pairs. 2. Parents and daughters tended to resemble each other in the more conservative attitudes. 3. Children agreed with their mothers more often on current issues. (Fisher suggests that this is due to the greater interaction between mothers and children). 4. Family agreement tended to be higher on religious attitudes and values.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Himelhoch (1948)	62 Jewish college students and their families.	Ethnocentrism and Authoritarianism scale. The parent-child correlation on ethnocentrism was .57. There was no significant correlation on authoritarianism. From their F scores, there seemed to be no relation between parents and children on such basic personality areas such as insight, sexuality and aggression.	1. The more self-accepting the student was, the more his tolerance score diverged from his parents.
Bird, Monachesi and Burdick (1952)	150 primary school children and their parents.	Attitudes towards Negroes and Jews. Significant correlations (from .21 to .38) were found on attitudes toward Negroes. Parent-child correlations were positive but not significant for Jews.	1. Investigator concluded that parents did not make a great effort to transmit intergroup attitudes to their children.
Kahl (1953)	24 working-class high school boys and their parents.	Educational aspirations. There was a statistically significant association between parental pressure to go to college and the boys' educational aspirations.	

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Helfant (1952)	166 high school students and their parents.	Attitudes concerning Russia; international relations; war. Correlations ranged from .05 to .28. Although low, most correlations were significant.	1. When social pressures on a specific attitude are strong, personality factors do not seem to be related to the child's attitude. However, when these pressures are minimal, the attitude is more consistent with personality factors than with parental views. 2. Correlations between the attitudes of adolescents and their parents were generally higher in homes where parents and children discussed international relations. Differences, however, were not significant.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Radke-Yarrow, Trager, Miller (1952)	99 first- and second-grade children and their mothers.	Attitudes about different ethnic groups. There was some parent-child agreement, although no correlation was calculated.	
Staples and Smith (1954)	87 grandmothers and their daughters.	Attitudes about childrearing. There was a correlation of .34.	1. No relationship was found between the child's paternal grandmother and her daughter-in-law, but there was a correlation between the attitudes of the child's maternal grandmother and the mother. 2. Daughters who did not live in the same household as their mothers were more likely to agree with them.
Strodtbeck (1958)	48 high school boys and their parents.	Measure of achievement values. This was unrelated for fathers and sons (.02) but significantly related for mothers and sons (.35).	1. The boys' achievement values are influenced by the distribution of authority in the family.
Mosher and Scodel (1960)	161 sixth- and seventh-grade children and their mothers.	Authoritarian attitudes. Mothers and children were found to be significantly related (.32).	1. The mother's use of authoritarian childrearing practices did not affect the child's authoritarian attitudes.

CHART 10-1 (Continued)
From Furstenberg (1967)

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Dentler and Hutchinson (1961)	75 families with one or two adolescents.	Love, companionship, and family authority. Family members were no more related in their attitudes than members of "artificial" groups, statistically constructed from the sample.	1. Agreement was greater in higher SES levels. 2. Cross-sex and cross-age pairs differed significantly in their attitudes.
Mechanic (1964)	350 fourth- and eighth-grade children and their mothers.	Health attitudes. Parents and children were related in only 15 out of 75 items. Even when significant relations occurred, the amount of association was low. None of the association accounted for more than 7% of the variance.	1. Children's health attitudes appeared to be determined more by age and sex than the attitudes of the mother.
Byrne (1965)	108 college students and their families.	Authoritarianism and ideology. Correlation on F scale ranged from .13 to .38 depending on parent-child pairs. Relationship for fathers and daughters was not significant. On a scale of Family Ideology, there was less parent-child agreement (.03 to .37). Only father-son attitudes were significantly related.	1. Same-sex parent-child pairs tended to have higher agreement. 2. Authoritarian child-rearing ideology was not related to the child's F score.

Investigator(s)	Sample	Attitudes Studied and Nature of Correlation	Relevant Findings
Cohen (1965)	100 high school boys and their parents.	Parental ambitions and educational attitudes were significantly related to boys' educational plans. (No correlation presented).	1. A higher relationship exists between child's plans and mother's educational attitudes than father's attitudes. There is no difference between parents on other measures. 2. Agreement on college goals was higher when parents considered education more salient.
Mosher and Mosher (1965)	70 delinquent adolescent girls and their mothers.	Authoritarianism. Attitudes were significantly correlated (.25).	1. Although the authoritarian attitudes of the girls were correlated with their mothers, the girls' attitudes were not related to their mothers' authoritarian child rearing practices.
Perrone (1965)	120 Junior high girls and their parents.	Occupational values. Mothers' and daughters' evaluations were significantly correlated on five of the 15. The correlations on these items, however, were quite low (highest was .20).	

CHART 10-1
Reproduced from Furstenberg (1967)

But as Furstenberg (1967) rightfully points out, these studies fail in their attempt to establish transmission of values from parent to child because (1) for the most part they use indirect rather than direct indicators of the values of one of the members of the pair, either the parent or the child, since they collect data from only one person and ask that person to report the values of the other; (2) they fail to establish a causal relationship between the parent's value and the child's. The existence of a positive correlation between any two individuals does not necessarily reflect the influence of one by the other, since both individuals could be subject to the external influence (Hyman, 1959; Newcomb and Svehla, 1937). In order to definitely establish a causal connection one must show that the correlation between parent and child is independent of these outside factors and is affected by characteristics of the interaction between parent and child.

The most systematic study to date is the secondary analysis which Furstenberg (1967) began independently after the present study was underway. Furstenberg investigated concordance on seven values in a sample of 475 parent-child pairs in which the children ranged in age from 10 to 19. The values he investigated were: (1) consensus on neighborhood evaluation; (2) attitudes toward settlement house, (3) attitudes toward teachers; (4) belief in equal opportunity; (5) perception of own opportunities; (6) mobility orientation, and (7) attitude about anomia. Agreement between parent and child (as measured by tau-beta) ranged from .009 to .243. It was very low on four values (Items 2, 3, 4 and 5) and highest on Item 6, mobility orientation. He found that consensus on this value was affected by several structural characteristics of the family (sex, age, family size and education) and by patterns of family interaction (for instance, lack of conflict or time spent with parents). However, Furstenberg observed that none of these variables affected consensus on the other six values. As other investigators before him, Furstenberg found that agreement was generally highest for mother-daughter pairs. He also found that agreement between parent and child was greater among the older than the younger adolescents. As Furstenberg points out, this finding contradicts a common assumption that is made that children grow increasingly apart from their parents in adolescence (Parsons, 1942; Coleman, 1961; Douvan and Adelson, 1966).

Family variables are of particular interest in the study of transmission of values from parent to child because socialization theory assumes that the structure of parent-child interaction affects the degree of parental influence. A statement such as the following is typical. "The form and quality of interaction between parent and child...affect the learning of normative behavior patterns, values and other aspects of culture that parents regard as appropriate and desirable for the child" (Rosen, 1964, p. 59).

The specific family variables which have been found to increase actual (or perceived) parent-child agreement on values include the following:

- agreement on the value between both parents (re: political attitude, Maccoby, Matthews and Morton, 1960)
- non-authoritarian parents (re: political attitude, Maccoby, Matthews and Morton, 1960; re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- equal closeness to both parents (re: feminist attitude, Kirkpatrick, 1936)
- relying on parental advice (re: religious attitudes, Rosen, 1955; re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- regarding parents as reference individuals (re: religious attitude, Rosen, 1955)
- communication of parental view to child (re: attitudes of prejudice, Goodman, 1964; international relations, Helfant, 1952)
- accurate perception of parents' attitudes (re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- time spent with parent (re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- decreasing contact with peers (re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- not being ashamed of parents (re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- few conflicts with parents (re: mobility orientation, Furstenberg, 1967)
- saliency of the attitude (Furstenberg, 1967)

Furstenberg's study (1967) is the only existing study, besides the present one, which is based on independent data from parents and children and also investigates the effect of interactional family factors on the transmission of values from parent to child. Even Rosen (1964) in his article on "Family Structure and Value Transmission" describes the effects of sociodemographic characteristics of the family rather than interactional patterns on value transmission.

However, as Furstenberg points out, his data were drawn from a study that was not designed to investigate the problem of transmission of value. Thus, relatively few values questions were included in the questionnaires and few identical questions were asked of both parent and child. In the majority of areas, concordance between parent and child had to be measured on the basis of different items for both members of the pair. The study contained especially little information on patterns of family interaction.

By contrast, the present study contains, by design, a great deal of information about family structure. Identical value items were asked of both parent and adolescent. Finally, by including an entire high school population in the sample as much information is available on the adolescent's best-school-friend as on the adolescent himself. Thus, we are in an unusually favorable position to investigate the transmission of values from parent to child and the value similarity between best-school-friend and child and to compare the extent of parental and peer influences. Relative parental and peer influences will be assessed through the comparison of concordance in values and goals with mother and with friend. This approach is quite different from those existing studies of competing and peer influences which have approached the issue through the child's responsiveness to contradictory pressure from adults and peers (Riley, Riley and Moore, 1961; Brittain, 1963; Rosen, 1965; Bronfenbrenner _et al._, 1966). In these studies, the child typically is presented with a paper and pencil test and asked to respond to a series of conflict situations in which he has to choose between peer- and adult-sponsored values. The test is administered under different experimental classroom situations which alternately increase the saliency of peers or of adults for the responding child. Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues applied this approach cross-culturally to groups of 11-12-year-old children in the United States, the Soviet Union and Germany (Devereux, 1965; Bronfenbrenner _et al._, 1966).

In the present study, we examine values covering a broad range of issues and educational goals. The present chapter focuses upon values and the next one upon educational goals. In both instances, we examine the values and goals of adolescents, of their mothers and of their best-school-friends. As we will see, the concordance on values with both mother and best friend is not very high, even though often statistically significant. This is in contrast to the strong concordance observed on educational goals.

In this chapter, we attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the values of adolescents and mothers and how different or similar are they from each other, viewed as separate populations?

2. How much transmission of values is there from mother to adolescent within families and how does this compare to the agreement in values between the adolescent and his best friend?

The second question concerns concordance, that is, agreement between pairs of individuals, either matched adolescent-mother pairs and matched adolescent-best-school-friend pairs. The data are in the form of correlations between the responses of pairs of respondents. Similarity in values between the generations in this sense is a quite different question from the overall values of the generations seen as separate populations.

3. What interactional factors affect concordance with mother and with best-school-friend?

The next chapter will focus upon concordance on educational goals with mother and with best-school-friend.

I. Method:

A. The samples of triads (mother, adolescent, best-school-friend) and dyads:

The comparative analysis of concordance between adolescent and mother and between adolescent and peer is based upon the sample of triads in which the adolescent was matched to his mother and his best friend in school. The matching procedures and the samples were described in Chapter 3.

The basic triads, on which the analyses are based, consist of all the adolescents from intact families who could be matched to both their mothers and their best-school-friends. The basic adolescent-best-school-friend dyads consist of all identified adolescent-best-friend dyads, regardless of whether or not there is a mother match. The basic mother-adolescent dyads consist of adolescent-mother pairs from intact families.[1]

The analyses will be based alternatively on pairs from the samples of triads or of dyads. To compare simultaneously concordance with mother and concordance with best friend, we restrict the samples to pairs drawn from the triads. To investigate factors related to concordance, we include all the dyads in order to maximize the number of cases. Since levels of concordance are almost identical among pairs from the dyads and from the triads (see Appendix Table D-10-1), it does not make any difference substantively which sample one works with.

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[1] As in the preceding family chapters the adolescent-mother pairs are restricted to intact families for the reason that we will subsequently investigate the influence of patterns of family interaction on concordance between mother and child. Since the earlier description of family patterns had been restricted to intact families, the present analysis had to be similarly restricted and for the same reasons. Broken families are atypical families in terms of the distribution of maternal and paternal tasks and are obviously families in which we cannot study the effect of paternal patterns. We questioned whether this restriction in the sample would introduce a bias in the value patterns observed. We, therefore, compared the value profiles of three groups of adolescents: those with no mother in the sample, those with a mother from an intact family and those with a mother from a broken family. Analysis indicated that there was virtually no difference in the value profiles of these three groups nor in the profiles of mothers from intact or broken families. (Data not presented.)

B. The Assessment of Values:

The term value is used in a very broad sense to define what respondents considered to be either desirable behavior for adolescents or desirable criteria or norms in making a decision, for instance, about an occupation. In most instances, we will be comparing the values which adolescents hold for themselves or for adolescents in general and the values which mothers hold to be desirable for their children or for adolescents in general. The data on values are based on twenty-five separate questions which were asked in parallel form of both mothers and adolescents. The questions can be roughly classified into five subject areas: three are relevant to the adolescent's present life and two to his future:

(A) The family

The importance of family activities, religious ideas, and attitudes toward parents.

(B) The peer group

The importance of participation in peer group activities, and of popularity and prestige in the peer group.

(C) Intellectual orientation

Preferences as to how the adolescent would like to be remembered at school, the importance of effort and achievement in school activities and in developing educated tastes (serious reading and classical music).

(D) Future occupational role

What is the best way to get ahead in life and what characteristic (income, security, etc.) is most important in an occupation.

(E) Higher education

The relative importance of each of eight goals which may be achieved through higher education.

The specific values and the questions on which they are based are listed in Table 10-1 and subsequent tables. Most items were rated as to their importance by adolescents and mothers. The format of the items was different in the following instances which did not ask for a rating of importance:

- Item 14 (St. Qx. 14 and Pt. Qx. 16): represents a choice among the three school images of brilliant student, star athlete (for boys) or leader in activities (for girls), and most popular student in the school.
- Item 20 (St. Qx. 178 and Pt. Qx. 169): represents a choice among six alternatives of the best way to get ahead in life.
- Items 21-25 (St. Qx. 226-230 and Pt. Qx. 143-147): represent the percent of adolescents and mothers ranking first in preference each of five characteristics of occupations.
- Items 4, 5, 11 and 15 (St. Qx. 173-176 and Pt. Qx. 28-31): represent the percent of respondents who ranked first each of four possible goals for adolescents. The four goals originally were part of one question and now are listed in the value area to which they are most closely related.

The questions differed not only in format or in content, but also in the extent to which the desirable behavior value was made specific to the particular adolescent in the study. Some of the questions were general, and did not refer to adolescents, for instance, items 20, 26-33.[1] Other questions were phrased so that preferences were given for adolescents in general (for instance, items 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 for both adolescents and mother and items 4, 5, 11 and 15 for mother). Others were phrased for the particular adolescent in each family. In one question, item 19, the adolescent's preference for classical music is matched by the mother's own preference, not her opinion of what her child should like.

II. Patterns of Values of the Two Generations in the United States and Denmark:

The issue examined is the degree of similarity (or dissimilarity) that exists in the values of adolescents and the values mothers hold for them in the two countries. However, since there are certain striking cross-cultural differences in the general patterns of response given by American and Danish respondents of both generations, generational differences cannot be discussed without considering the content of the values and these cross-cultural differences.

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[1] For meaning of specific items, refer to Table 10-1.

Consequently, we discuss first the general profile of values in the two countries and discuss subsequently the differences in values between the two generations. In a separate section, we deal with the difference in values between boys and girls. In the following section we compare agreement on values, or concordance, within adolescent-mother and adolescent-best-school-friend pairs.

A. Value Profiles of the United States and Denmark:

The patterns of values for the two countries are shown in Table 10-1 where Sections A to C list values relevant to the adolescent's present life and activities and Sections D and E list values relevant to the adolescent's future.

The most striking difference between the two countries appears with respect to general life values. When asked to evaluate the most effective method of personal advancement (Item 20 in Table 10-1), the majority of Americans assign first rank to "working hard" and the majority of Danes choose "having a pleasant personality."[1] A minority in both countries assign first rank to advanced education. There is a clear cultural difference in that Americans see work as a means to success while Danes emphasize sociability. This emphasis on work reappears in a question that deals with the adolescent's current schooling. Many more Americans than Danes stress the importance of working hard on studies (Item 16) and also of planning for the future (Item 18).[2]

These findings are further amplified by the differences between the two countries in their attitude toward the most important characteristic of an occupation (Items 21-25, Table 10-1). The majority of respondents in both countries are more likely to assign first rank to the non-material "feeling of accomplishment." But a larger proportion of Danes than of Americans select this job characteristic. A larger number of Americans prefer the more material rewards of a high income and chances for advancement. The Danes, who do not stress the feeling of accomplishment, are likely to emphasize the non-achievement aspects of a job: security and lots of free time. One gets the impression that the American is much more concerned with status and power,

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[1] The exact translations of this item in Danish reads, "Have pleasant manners and be well liked."

[2] Because of the large size of our samples, the differences discussed here are highly significant (see Appendix C on "Significance of Differences Between Two Percentages.")

TABLE 10-1

Percent of Adolescents and Mothers Giving "High Importance" or "First Rank" to Value Questions, in the United States and Denmark*

Values	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Adolescents	Mothers	Adolescents	Mothers
A. FAMILY				
1. Doing things with the family[1]	42	65	17	42
2. Helping at home[1]	30	43	23	31
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	87	96	60	76
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	9	15	2	4
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	34	11	52	20
B. PEER GROUP				
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	20	11	4	1
7. Participating in sports[1]	31	14	37	18
8. Going out on dates[1]	40	6	35	2
9. Being popular in school[1]	46	19	45	28
10. Earning money[1]	56	36	30	17
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	18	5	15	11
12. Being well liked[3]	54	44	32	27
13. Having a good reputation[1]	78	93	53	71
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION				
14. Preferred school image:[4]				
Brilliant student	33	74	55	64
Athlete or leader in activities	34	21	10	7
Most popular	33	5	35	29
15. Learning much in school[2]	39	69	31	64
16. Working hard on studies[1]	54	83	32	54
17. Doing serious reading[1]	28	54	21	51
18. Planning for the future[1]	78	80	38	44
19. Liking classical music[5]	10	22	10	23
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE				
20. Best way to get ahead in life[6]				
Work hard	52	56	13	9
Have a pleasant personality	22	17	43	50
Know the right people	4	2	12	10
Save your money	1	2	5	3
Get a higher education	18	22	23	27
Have a special talent	3	1	4	1

TABLE 10-1

(continued)

Values	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Adolescents	Mothers	Adolescents	Mothers
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]				
21. High income	32	10	16	3
22. No danger of being fired	5	3	13	5
23. Lots of free time	2	0	4	1
24. Chances for advancement	26	22	11	3
25. A feeling of accomplishment	35	65	57	88
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]				
26. Knowledge of community problems	51	53	20	24
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	27	29	12	13
28. Developing one's morals and values	52	71	45	75
29. Learning to get along with people	54	61	54	62
30. Social and athletic activities	22	12	17	4
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	43	53	53	67
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	70	66	38	20
33. Providing vocational training	68	83	70	68
Total N[9]	(817)	(1101)	(820)	(826)

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[1] Passes 113-114.
Based on Student questions 259-270 and Parent questions 112-123.

[2] Based on Student questions 173-176 and Parent questions 28-31.

[3] Based on Student question 110 and Parent question 15.

[4] Based on Student question 54 and Parent question 16.

[5] Based on Student question 416 and Parent question 225.

[6] Based on Student question 178 and Parent question 169.

[7] Values 21-25 based on Student questions 226-230 and Parent questions 143-147.

[8] Based on Student questions 217-224 and Parent questions 160-167.

[9] All questions are based on the sample of adolescent-mother pairs from intact families. Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "Total N" given for each group is that from the smallest N for any question. Thus the Total N for any particular question is at least as large as that given as "Total N."

*For significance level of cross-cultural and generational differences refer to Appendix C on "Significance of Differences Between Two Percentages."

while the Dane is much more content with individual happiness and self-expression.

The greater concern of the American for financial reward as compared to the Danes expresses itself also in the educational values of the two countries. Attitudes toward higher education are shown in Section E of Table 10-1, Items 26-33. The largest overall cross-cultural difference appears in connection with conceptualizing education as finding opportunities to "learn skills to earn a high income" (Item 32). Many more Americans than Danes do so.

Americans also attach greater importance than the Danes to the intellectual purposes of higher education, that is, to obtaining knowledge of science or the arts and of community problems.

The two countries are most alike in the area of the social and ethical values of higher education. Both countries think it important to develop the student's morals and values and to learn to get along with people (Items 28 and 29).

These differences between the two countries tend to picture the United States as a modern, achievement-oriented society and Denmark as a more traditional society. The United States values hard work and its supposed immediate rewards: high income and greater opportunity. Danes believe that having a "pleasant personality" is the road to success and that the intangible characteristics of a job are the most important. Concerning higher education, Americans value it more for both purely intellectual and purely materialistic purposes.

Yet, as concerns the present life circumstances of the adolescent, the Americans are more likely than the Danes to emphasize the importance of social interactions, both with parents and with peers. Thus, they are more likely than the Danes to attach great importance to doing things with the family (Item 1), helping at home (Item 2) and respecting one's parents (Item 3) as well as to emphasize being a leader in activities (Item 6) and being well liked by other students (Item 12).

There is both an emphasis on sociability as a life style for adolescence but an emphasis on hard work and concrete rewards for advancement in one's future occupational and educational role. By contrast, the Dane seems to be somewhat more withdrawn and less involved in social contacts in his current life than the American, yet be more relaxed and stress a general style of pleasantness and not hurting other people in his future life striving.

B. Value Profiles of Adolescents and Mothers:

While strong cross-cultural differences emerge between the United States and Denmark in the general profiles of values characteristic of each country, the patterns of generational differences are the same in both countries.

The first thing to note is that differences in values between the generations are more pronounced in certain areas than in others. The differences between adolescents and mothers are smallest on the general life values listed in Sections D and E, which are more relevant to the adolescent's future role than to his present situation as an adolescent (see Table 10-1). It is in the current realm of family, peer group and school-related values that strong and similar differences between adolescents and parents appear in the United States and Denmark. Adolescents in both countries attach more importance to their peer group and less to the family and schooling than their mothers think they should.

The greater relative importance to the peer group attributed by adolescents as compared to mothers is reflected in the evaluation both of interpersonal relations and of activities in the peer group. As shown in Table 10-1, in both the United States and Denmark, all the items in Section B, with the exception of Item 13, are noted as more important by adolescents than by mothers.

The exception for importance of the adolescent's "good reputation" (Item 13) may be due to the fact that this question may elicit responses oriented toward the adolescent's reputation in diverse social groups, not just among the peer group.

Opposite trends appear in the attitudes of the two generations toward the family and in their current intellectual orientation. Mothers are much more likely than adolescents to stress the importance of these areas. Thus, with respect to the family, more parents than adolescents think it important for an adolescent to do things with the family (Item 1) or to help at home (Item 2).

There is one apparent exception. Adolescents attach greater importance than parents to "pleasing one's parents" (Item 5). This may be due to the supposed motivation underlying "pleasing" one's parents as opposed to "respecting" them. Respect is something freely given, presumably because earned, but one may have to please people for reasons of self-interest, or advantage. This element makes adolescents feel it necessary to please their parents when they may wish they didn't have to, whereas parents hate to think their children are under any kind of obligation to "please" them. It should be noted that both parents and adolescents think it more important for an adolescent to "respect" his parents than to "please" them.

Section C, entitled "Intellectual Orientation," includes answers to questions on the relative importance of school activities, of developing educated tastes and, more generally, of "planning for the future." The results in this section parallel those in the family sections. Activities which are essentially imposed academic obligations, and are not related directly to the peer culture, are considered less important for adolescents by the adolescents themselves than they are by their parents. Thus, adolescents are less likely than parents to stress the importance of learning much in school (Item 15), of working hard on their studies (Item 16) or being remembered as a brilliant student (Item 14). Parents have a much stronger academic orientation than children. The differences between the generations are greater in the United States than in Denmark. Thus, 74% of the mothers would most like for their children to be remembered as a brilliant student in contrast to only 33% among the children themselves; comparable percentages in Denmark are 64% and 55%. In both countries, however, adolescents are more likely than parents to prefer images reflecting status in the peer group: "most popular," "best athlete" or "leader in activities."

As we mentioned earlier, fewer generational differences appear in the items dealing with general life values or values pertaining to the occupational or educational world. No generational difference, either in the United States or in Denmark, appears with respect to what is the best way to get ahead (Item 20).

The generational differences on the important characteristics of an occupation are larger than on general attitudes toward future success. In both countries, mothers are more likely than adolescents to prefer a job for the adolescent that would give them a "feeling of accomplishment." Adolescents are more likely than mothers to stress a high income.

The final set of questions, on the perceived goals of a higher education, show some generational differences, some of which appear only in one country. In both countries, parents emphasize the value of college as it contributes to the moral and personal development of the individual: in developing one's personal values (Item 28), preparing for a happy marriage (Item 31), learning to get along with people (Item 29). In Denmark, adolescents are more likely than their parents to stress the financial rewards of education (Item 32). In the United States, parents are even more likely than adolescents to stress the practical training provided by advanced education (Item 33). Adolescents are more likely to stress the peer-related aspects of the college experience (Item 30). The generations do not seem to differ greatly in their assessment of the intellectual goals of higher education (Items 26 and 27).

We may briefly summarize the generational differences. Adolescents place relatively greater importance on their participation and prestige in the peer group and less importance on the family than their mothers think they should. Adolescents also attach less importance to those school-related activities that represent academic interests or constitute preparation for the future. In looking forward to a future occupation, mothers emphasize more than the children the intangible benefit of a "feeling of accomplishment." In looking at the goals of a college education, there are few differences, though parents emphasize some of the goals which contribute to moral and personal growth. There is no difference between the generations with respect to the best avenue to success, although there is an important difference between the countries.

Adolescents and mothers hold more similar values about the future life of the adolescent (Sections D and E) than about his present life and activities (Sections A, B, and C). This finding is somewhat similar to the conclusion reached by Riley, Riley and Moore (1961), even though these investigators used a completely different methodology. They collected data from high school students who were presented with twenty vignettes of boys and girls with attributes believed to be of crucial importance to adolescents. They were asked in particular whether they wanted to be like these boys and girls, whether their own parents wanted their child to be like them, whether this would help them later after high school. Riley, Riley and Moore found that the adolescents' expectations about themselves as adults came very close to the perceived current parental expectations. Thus, it would seem that adolescents differ most from adults on what they take to be immediate rewards among their peers and less on future related values. As we will see in the next chapter, there is, indeed, a very high degree of concordance on future goals between adolescent and parent.

C. Differences in Values Between Boys and Girls:

To simplify the discussion of cross-cultural and generational differences, the data discussed so far were not broken down by the sex of the child. However, the literature suggests that there is more similarity between the attitudes and values of same-sex parent and child than between cross-sex pairs. We have data only from one parent, the mother, so that we cannot test this hypothesis systematically. However, the distribution of answers in our samples would tend to support this conclusion (see Table 10-2). The girls' answers are generally more similar to the mothers' than the boys' are. For example, the questions on participation in the peer group, which mothers usually think less important than mothers, girls think less important than boys. The one question in that section (having a good reputation), which mothers think more important than their children, girls think more important than boys. The differences between the sexes are often small. However, the general conclusion is justified because the relationship is repeated consistently. For each of the five areas, except Section A in the United States, the average percentage difference between mother and child is larger for boys than for girls (data not presented). The differences between the mothers of boys and the mothers of girls, are usually small, but more often than not are in the same direction as the differences between boys and girls. (One exception to this trend is preference for the "brilliant student" image (Item 14): while girls prefer it to boys, the mothers of boys prefer it to the mothers of girls.)

TABLE 10-2

Percent of Adolescents and Mothers Giving "High Importance" or "First Rank" to Value Questions, by Sex of Adolescent and Country

	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Adolescent		Mother		Adolescent		Mother	
Values	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
A. FAMILY								
1. Doing things with the family[1]	39	46	61	69	12	21	41	42
2. Helping at home[1]	21	38	33	55	17	29	26	35
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	83	91	95	97	52	67	76	76
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	8	10	16	15	2	3	3	5
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	32	37	11	12	47	57	18	22
B. PEER GROUP								
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	21	19	11	11	6	2	1	1
7. Participating in sports[1]	41	21	17	10	42	32	22	15
8. Going out on dates[1]	39	40	5	8	43	27	1	2
9. Being popular in school[1]	47	45	15	24	47	44	29	27
10. Earning money[1]	60	53	40	31	34	27	18	17
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	20	16	4	6	16	13	10	12
12. Being well liked[3]	48	60	42	46	26	37	30	24
13. Having a good reputation[1]	67	89	91	95	50	56	71	71
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION								
14. Preferred school image:[4]								
Brilliant student	29	38	81	66	47	63	69	59
Athlete or leader	42	25	14	28	18	3	7	7
Most popular	29	37	5	6	36	34	24	34
15. Learning much in school[2]	41	38	70	68	36	27	69	60
16. Working hard on studies[1]	47	61	82	83	28	37	54	54
17. Doing serious reading[1]	25	30	58	51	19	23	52	50
18. Planning for the future[1]	75	80	81	80	34	41	47	42
19. Liking classical music[5]	7	12	22	22	8	11	25	21
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE								
20. Best way to get ahead in life[6]								
Work hard	48	55	56	56	15	11	10	8
Have a pleasant personality	17	26	15	19	31	55	45	54
Know the right people	7	2	2	3	13	10	9	10
Save your money	1	1	2	1	5	5	2	4
Get a higher education	22	14	24	21	30	17	33	23
Have a special talent	5	2	1	0	6	2	1	1

TABLE 10-2

(continued)

Values	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Adolescent		Mother		Adolescent		Mother	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]								
21. High income	37	27	9	10	20	13	4	3
22. No danger of being fired	6	3	3	2	16	11	5	5
23. Lots of free time	4	1	0	1	4	3	1	1
24. Chances for advancement	26	25	23	21	13	8	3	2
25. A feeling of accomplishment	27	44	65	66	47	66	88	89
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]								
26. Knowledge of community problems	49	53	54	53	25	17	29	20
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	31	24	32	26	14	10	14	12
28. Developing one's morals and values	48	56	69	72	43	47	78	72
29. Learning to get along with people	52	56	60	62	48	59	60	64
30. Social and athletic activities	31	12	15	10	20	14	4	4
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	44	43	52	55	55	52	67	67
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	73	67	65	67	48	28	22	19
33. Providing vocational training	62	73	84	82	68	72	73	62
Total N[9]	(381)	(436)	(562)	(539)	(385)	(435)	(407)	(419)

Passes 113-114.

[1-9] See footnotes to Table 10-1.

Our sample of parents includes only mothers. We cannot conclude that boys hold values more different from parents than do girls, but only from their mothers. If we also had data on the fathers' values, we would expect to find that there is more similarity between the values of boys and fathers than between girls and fathers.

III. Concordance on Values Between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend:

We have now surveyed the cross-cultural, generational and cross-sex differences in values. In each case we have been comparing the responses of distinct populations. We have seen differences between the countries and between the generations, and an increase in generational difference when we take into account the sex of the child. But from these generational differences in value profiles alone we cannot justifiably conclude that there is a substantial degree of conflict between the generations. These differences occur in selected areas. Furthermore, value differences in the total populations are not necessarily reflected in the values of mother-child pairs. Finally, the data so far give no clues as to value concordance among friendship pairs and the relative degree of agreement with mother as compared to best friend--which is the crucial question we wish to consider.

Since we are interested in value transmission from parents to children and in competing influences of peers and parents, we now turn to an investigation of the correlation between the values of pairs of adolescents and mothers and adolescents and their best friend in school. Kendall's tau-beta (Kendall, 1948) is used to measure concordance[1] The question on "preferred school image" (Item 14) has been transformed into an ordered variable by dichotomizing the three preferences into "brilliant students" versus the other two. The correlations show the tendency to choose the brilliant student image. Similarly, the question on the "best way to get ahead in life" (Item 20) was also dichotomized into modal and non-modal response in each country. The United States version includes "hard work" versus all other alternatives; the Danish version includes "pleasant personality" versus all others.

Concordance may now be defined as the tendency for the opinions on a specified value question of pairs of individuals to be positively correlated. We will be looking at pairs of mothers and adolescents within the same families, and pairs of adolescents and best-school-friends.

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[1] For a discussion of the statistical problems in the measurement of concordance and of the different statistics that were considered and subsequently discarded, see Appendix B on "The Measurement of Concordance."

Table 10-3 presents the tau-beta correlations on the value questions for mother and for best-school-friend in the United States and Denmark. In general, the values of members of pairs are positively correlated with each other. Of all the questions only one (Item 24) fails to show a positive correlation in the United States with both mother and friend; Item 28 in Denmark and Item 29 in the United States are negatively correlated among friends. In both countries, however, be it with mother or with best-school-friend, the correlations are very low. Many of the tau-betas are below .100, denoting little relationship. While the average concordance in both countries appears to be low, there seems to be little doubt that it does exist and that it is positive, since the results are repeated for many value questions (based originally on 25 separate items from the questionnaire).

Certain general conclusions can be stated on the basis of these results:

(1) Within each country, contrary to what one would have expected on the basis of the discussion of the youth culture concept, the concordance with best-school-friend is not higher than that with mother. If anything, there is a slight trend in the United States for concordance with best-school-friend to be lower than that for mother: the average tau-betas for the 33 items are .081 (for the mother) versus .063 (for best-school-friend).

(2) Cross-culturally, concordance on values with best-school-friend is slightly greater in Denmark than in the United States, while concordance with mother is almost identical in both countries. Thus, the average correlations for best friend are slightly higher in Denmark than in the United States, .110 versus .063 as compared to .100 versus .081 for the mother. Furthermore, the number of values for which concordance with best friend is statistically significant is 28 in Denmark in contrast to 13 in the United States. There is practically no difference for concordance with mother where the number of significant correlations is 25 in Denmark and 21 in the United States.

(3) Essentially the same trends appear in each of the five areas of values. There is little variation in the average correlation from area to area and between the countries (Table 10-4). The fact that concordance is about equal in all five value areas is important when we remember that the differences between the generations in the distributions of values (as seen in Table 10-1) varied substantially from area to area. Thus, one cannot infer intra-member value conflict in families or in friendship pairs solely from the degree of similarity in the profiles of the separate populations.

The low tau-betas for agreement with mother are similar to those reported by Furstenberg who also used tau-beta to measure agreement between adolescents and their parents. Other evidence accumulated in the literature would seem to indicate that (1) concordance with

6

TABLE 10-3

Concordance* on Values Between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend
A. FAMILY				
1. Doing things with the family[1]	.083*	.030	.071*	.085*
2. Helping at home[1]	.045	.022	.111*	.083*
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	.071*	.061	.074*	.096*
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	.157*	.143*	.215	.038
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	.088*	.013	.100*	.138*
B. PEER GROUP				
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	.133*	.093*	.140*	.152*
7. Participating in sports[1]	.168*	.116*	.214*	.100*
8. Going out on dates[1]	.060	.041	.036	.081*
9. Being popular in school[1]	.070*	.036	.092*	.031
10. Earning money[1]	.088*	.110*	.076*	.073*
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	.032	.118*	.061	.115*
12. Being well liked[3]	.002	.065*	.141*	.125*
13. Having a good reputation[1]	.026	.093*	.080*	.069*
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION				
14. Prefer "Brilliant Student" image[4]	.113*	.067	.122*	.244*
15. Learning much in school[2]	.089*	.050	.067*	.084*
16. Working hard on studies[1]	.031	.132*	.099*	.086*
17. Doing serious reading[1]	.068*	.077*	.138*	.179*
18. Planning for the future[1]	.044	.078*	.062*	.081*
19. Liking classical music[5]	.205*	.027	.169*	.233
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE				
20. Best way to get ahead[6]	.064	.006	.118*	.109*
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]				
21. High income	.114*	.060	.081	.096*
22. No danger of being fired	.054	.069	.039	.158*
23. Lots of free time	.007	.062	.054	.060
24. Chances for advancement	-.005	-.018	.111*	.111*
25. A feeling of accomplishment	.117*	.188*	.106*	.164*

TABLE 10-3

(Continued)

		UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
		Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend
E.	THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]				
26.	Knowledge of community problems	.020	.006	.082*	.069*
27.	Knowledge of science or the arts	.128*	.110*	.220*	.119*
28.	Developing one's morals and values	.083*	.048	.015	-.006
29.	Learning to get along with people	.107*	-.011	.072*	.141*
30.	Social and athletic activities	.145*	.085*	.145*	.068*
31.	Preparation for a happy marriage	.066*	.031	.067*	.133*
32.	Learning skills to earn a high income	.104*	.015	.080*	.178*
33.	Providing vocational training	.065*	.055	.064	.133*
	Average for all questions	.081	.063	.100	.110
	Total N[9]	(762)	(644)	(738)	(671)

Passes 92-94, 215

*Measured by tau-beta; $p \leq .05$

1-9 See footnotes 1-9 in Table 10-1.

TABLE 10-4

Average Concordance by Value Area Between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

Value Area	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend
A. Family	.089	.054	.114	.088
B. Peer Group	.072	.084	.105	.093
C. Intellectual Orientation	.092	.072	.110	.151
D. Preferences in a Future Occupation	.058	.061	.084	.117
E. The Goals of Higher Education	.090	.042	.093	.104

Based on Table 10-3.

parents is low and (2) that it often is not different from the level of concordance observed with other adolescent-adult pairs. Thus, Furstenberg found that, on several of the values he studied, concordance between adolescent-parent pairs was of the same level as concordance between the adolescent and an unrelated adult living in the same household. Similarly, Bassett (1949) and Dentler and Hutchinson (1961) found no difference between agreement within real families and unrelated adult-adolescent pairs.

Our general conclusion that concordance on values with best friend is also very low is similar to that reached by Thompson and Carr (1966).

(4) Essentially the same conclusions are reached when concordance with mothers is studied separately for boys and girls (see Table 10-5). In a slight majority of cases, the girls have greater concordance, but in both the United States and Denmark, the average difference is very small. Thus, girls do not show greater concordance with their mothers than boys, even though the populations of boys and girls do show distinctive values (Table 10-2). The closer relationships between same-sex parents and children than between cross-sex pairs (See Chapter 7) do not appear to lead to closer values, within families, between same-sex parents and adolescents. The data in this chapter thus do not support one of the most consistent findings in the literature, namely, that concordance on values is greater among same-sex than among cross-sex parent-child pairs. However, our values of agreement were very low to begin with. Thus, it may be difficult to find variables which will affect them upward or downward. Indeed, in the next chapter, when we consider educational goals for which levels of concordance are much higher than for values, we find that concordance is higher for mother-daughter than for mother-son pairs.

The sex differences on concordance with best-school-friend are in opposite directions in the two countries. In the United States, best-friend concordance is higher among boys than among girls while the reverse is true in Denmark, where levels of concordance are higher among girls. No particular pattern emerges among the different areas of values.

In summary, the most striking finding is the low degree of concordance on values with both mother and best-school-friend. Even though this low level of concordance is in agreement with the findings of other studies, it remains puzzling. Does it reflect accurately the degree of agreement that actually exists between adolescent and mother and adolescent and best-school-friend in the particular areas we studied, or does it reflect shortcomings of the methodology we used? Would agreement be higher on other values? Would agreement be higher if we were to use differently-worded questions? And, if there is indeed such low agreement, where does the adolescent get his values? These are questions which our data cannot answer.

TABLE 10-5

Concordance* on Values Between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friends, by Sex in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
Values	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend
A. FAMILY								
1. Doing things with the family[1]	.014	-.045	.141*	.083*	.095*	-.009	.044	.110*
2. Helping at home[1]	.040	.013	-.020	-.008	.104*	.062	.077	.024
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	.087	.109*	.037	-.010	.006	.107*	.136*	.037
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	.131	.113	.188*	.165*	.245	.012	.100	.061
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	.054	.025	.115*	-.001	.132*	.118*	.070	.128*
B. PEER GROUP								
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	.111*	.183*	.156*	.007	.150	.062	.128	.234*
7. Participating in sports[1]	.182*	.127*	.115*	.004	.144*	.067	.265*	.110*
8. Going out on dates[1]	.040	-.003	.087*	.077	.045	.094*	.052	.042
9. Being popular in school[1]	.072	.052	.076	.016	.077	-.030	.104*	.086*
10. Earning money[1]	.093*	.048	.070	.144*	.035	.033	.118*	.096*
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	.020	.101	.048	.130*	.070	.154*	.053	.075
12. Being well liked[3]	.012	.035	-.019	.083*	.136*	.073	.161*	.148*
13. Having a good reputation[1]	-.001	.046	.039	.055	.081	.039	.080	.086
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION								
14. Prefer "Brilliant Student" Image[4]	.177*	.088	.100	.036	.152*	.133*	.131*	.305*
15. Learning much in school[2]	.098*	.052	.081	.048	.080	.133*	.045	.026
16. Working hard on studies[1]	.035	.188*	.026	.063	.043	.097*	.152*	.058
17. Doing serious reading[1]	.056	.083	.085*	.065	.159*	.178*	.123*	.170*
18. Planning for the future[1]	.034	.125*	.055	.033	.004	.107*	.121*	.040
19. Liking classical music[5]	.182	.149	.225*	-.053	.144	.218	.197*	.243

TABLE 10-5

(Continued)

Values	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend	Mother	Best Friend
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE								
20. Best way to get ahead[6]	.063	-.020	.066	-.015	.099	-.025	.107*	.127*
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]								
21. High income	.089	-.003	.146	.106	.053	.069	.113	.105
22. No danger of being fired	.048	.063	.057	.022	.033	.116	.046	.097*
23. Lots of free time	.080	.025	-.031	.103	.089	-.056	.034	.161
24. Chances for advancement	-.026	-.007	.017	-.031	.064	.058	.152*	.160*
25. A feeling of accomplishment	.029	.150*	.197*	.178*	.117*	.121*	.082	.140*
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]								
26. Knowledge of community problems	-.026	-.052	.066	.063	.093*	.033	.077	.114*
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	.164*	.105*	.084*	.110*	.233*	.133*	.207*	.103*
28. Developing one's morals and values	.106*	.059	.057	.027	.014	-.002	.021	-.013
29. Learning to get along with people	.119*	-.014	.096*	-.015	.182*	.075	-.035	.183*
30. Social and athletic activities	.174*	.088*	.100*	-.010	.116*	.038	.173*	.071
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	.058	.060	.076	.004	.047	.112*	.085	.151*
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	.062	.001	.145*	.016	.009	.128*	.157*	.151*
33. Providing vocational training	-.004	.059	.142*	.028	.106*	.036	.042	.222*
Average for all questions	.072	.062	.086	.046	.096	.077	.107	.120
Total N[9]	(344)	(286)	(418)	(358)	(343)	(310)	(395)	(361)

Passes 92-94; 195; 200; 202

*Measured by tau-beta; $^*p \leq .05$

1-9 See footnotes 1-9 in Table 10-1.

IV. The Transmission of Values from Mother to Child:

Regardless of their levels, positive correlations between mother and child values do not necessarily indicate concordance unless certain controls are introduced. If positive correlations reflect the direct influence of one member of the pair upon the other, the correlation levels must vary with variables which reflect the intimacy of the members' interaction. Even though the tau-beta levels were very low, an attempt was made to investigate the effect of different factors on the concordance on values between mother and adolescent. We were concerned with the effects of strength of involvement within the family and outside the family on concordance. Thus, we examined two classes of variables: (1) patterns of family interaction, and (2) position in the adolescent society.

A. The Effect of Patterns of Family Interaction:

We reviewed earlier the factors which have been suggested by investigators to affect the transmission of values from parent to child. We expected, in particular, that closeness of ties with parents and frequency of communication would increase the parent's effectiveness in the socialization of the child. Furstenberg (1967) found that for the one value of mobility aspiration, several family variables, such as frequency of communication with parents, lack of conflicts and parental acceptance were related to greater concordance with the parent.

Thus, we studied the effects of several family pattern variables, all as perceived by the child, upon concordance with the mother:

- the extent to which the child relies on his mother for advice-- to a low, medium or high degree,
- the mother's authority pattern with respect to the child, whether "authoritarian," "democratic," or "permissive,"
- the child's feelings of closeness to his mother,
- the frequency with which the child brings his problems to his mother,
- the frequency with which the mother explains decisions she makes concerning the child,
- the child's subjective perception of whether his opinions are generally similar or different from those of his parents, and
- the child's respect for his parents' opinions.

As previously noted, all these variables relate to each other and to the child's perception of his agreement with his parents. We noted in Chapters 7 and 8 that children who report positive interactions with their parents are also more likely to report that, in general, their opinions are similar to those of their parents.

None of these family variables, however, has any consistent or sizable effect upon the actual degree of concordance in values between child and mother (data not presented). We looked for curvilinear as well as linear effects. Indeed, Bronfenbrenner's (1961) optimum level hypothesis[1] would predict a curvilinear relationship between a particular child-rearing practice and the child's behavior. We found no consistent curvilinear or linear effects. There were also no consistent effects within different value areas. The data support the somewhat surprising finding that variations in concordance under varying conditions of family pattern variables are due to haphazard and random fluctuations, rather than to any real effects of these variables themselves.

B. The Effects of Interaction with Peers:

We have seen that the quality of the adolescent's interaction in his family seems to have no systematic effect on the extent to which values are transmitted from mother to child. A corresponding question is whether the adolescent's involvement with his peers will reduce mother-adolescent concordance in values. The number of times the student was mentioned by other students as being in the "leading crowd" of his secondary school is an excellent indicator of the adolescent's relative status in the peer group. We would assume that the more intense the adolescent's participation in the peer group, the lesser the similarity of his values to those of his parents, especially since the leading crowd's values are more different than those of other adolescents from parental values.

Indeed, the value profiles of members of leading crowds are to some extent more different from the mothers' profiles than are the values of other adolescents. The profiles of adolescent values, controlling by whether the adolescent is a member of a leading crowd, are shown in Table 10-6. (The adolescent is defined as being in a leading crowd, if he was cited three or more times as a member by his fellow students.) The mother profiles were presented in Table 10-1. The largest differences appear in peer group values (Section B), where members of leading crowds are less like mothers on six of eight questions. The two exceptions are "earning money" and "having a good reputation," which are less specifically tied to the peer group. In both countries, leading crowds value participation and status in the peer group more than adolescents who are not members of leading crowds. We have seen previously that adolescents in general value the peer group more than mothers.

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[1] The theory was first discussed in Chapter 8.

TABLE 10-6

Percent of Adolescents Giving "High Importance" or First Rank" to Value Questions by Membership in tne Leading Crowd, in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Adolescent In Leading Crowd		Adolescent In Leading Crowd	
Values	Yes	No	Yes	No
A. FAMILY				
1. Doing things with the family[1]	33	46	15	17
2. Helping at home[1]	30	30	20	24
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	90	86	65	58
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	8	9	1	3
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	34	34	55	52
B. PEER GROUP				
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	28	17	4	4
7. Participating in sports[1]	36	29	43	35
8. Going out on dates[1]	45	38	42	34
9. Being popular in school[1]	56	42	51	44
10. Earning money[1]	52	58	26	31
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	21	17	19	14
12. Being well liked[3]	61	51	41	30
13. Having a good reputation[1]	82	77	56	53
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION				
14. Preferred school image:[4]				
Brilliant student	30	35	44	57
Athlete or leader	35	33	13	10
Most popular	35	32	43	33
15. Learning much in school[2]	37	40	25	32
16. Working hard on studies[1]	56	53	23	34
17. Doing serious reading[1]	28	27	24	20
18. Planning for the future[1]	79	78	38	37
19. Liking classical music[5]	9	10	13	9

TABLE 10-6

(continued)

Values	UNITED STATES Adolescent In Leading Crowd Yes	 No	DENMARK Adolescent In Leading Crowd Yes	 No
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE				
20. Best way to get ahead in life[6]				
Work hard	52	51	12	13
Have a pleasant personality	22	21	36	45
Know the right people	4	5	12	11
Save your money	1	1	3	6
Get a higher education	19	18	31	22
Have a special talent	2	4	6	3
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]				
21. High income	33	32	15	16
22. No danger of being fired	5	5	12	14
23. Lots of free time	3	2	1	4
24. Chances for advancement	26	25	11	11
25. A feeling of accomplishment	33	36	62	56
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]				
26. Knowledge of community problems	53	50	23	20
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	25	28	15	11
28. Developing one's morals and values	52	52	58	42
29. Learning to get along with people	52	54	57	53
30. Social and athletic activities	21	22	26	15
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	40	45	49	54
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	71	69	37	38
33. Providing vocational training	70	67	73	70
Total N[9]	(228)	(589)	(148)	(672)

Passes 113-114

[1-9] See footnotes to Table 10-1

The differences in the other areas tend to be rather small. Isolated examples more often support the above conclusion. In Denmark, for example, members of leading crowds are much less likely to prefer the "brilliant student" image, just as adolescents prefer it less than parents. The difference is in the same direction in the United States, but smaller. Also in Denmark, members of leading crowds attribute less importance to "working hard on studies," as do adolescents in general, compared to adults. In the United States, members of leading crowds are less likely to think it important to "do things with the family" than are non-members. The differences between leading crowd members and other adolescents are nonexistent concerning future occupations and higher education.

The data support the conclusion that in both countries the values of leading crowds are to some extent more different from those of mothers than are the values of other adolescents. The differences occur primarily in the area of the relative emphasis on the peer group, but not by consistently large margins.

However, the number of mentions received as members of leading crowds has no consistent effect on mother-child concordance in values (data not presented). This type of result has occurred before: although boys have values somewhat more different from those of mothers than do girls, the sex of the child does not systematically affect the degree of concordance with mother (Table 10-5).

Other variables indicating the adolescent's relative status in the peer group were also tested. We considered the number of times the adolescent was mentioned as a brilliant student, a star athlete or leader in activities, and most popular with the opposite sex. None of these had any consistent effect on concordance.

Apparently the adolescent's relative status in the peer group has no more effect on the amount of mother-adolescent concordance than does the nature of his interaction in the family.

V. The Influence of Peers:

We were also unsuccessful in our attempt to identify factors in the peer relationship which affected the levels of concordance on values within friendship pairs. We have several indicators of the degree of friendship represented by the best-school-friend choice. We know, in particular, whether or not the choice was reciprocated. We hypothesized that reciprocity of choice would be associated with greater consensus on values with best-school-friend than nonreciprocity. However, as shown by Table 10-7, in the United States, concordance is as low among reciprocated friendship pairs as among pairs in which the choices are not reciprocated: the average tau-beta for all 33 questions

TABLE 10-7

Concordance* on Values Between Adolescents and Best-School-Friends by Reciprocity of Choice, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Values	Choice of Best School Friend is			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Reciprocal	Not recip.	Reciprocal	Not recip.
A. FAMILY				
1. Doing things with the family[1]	.024	.091	.032	.059
2. Helping at home[1]	-.010	.085	.062	.110
3. Respecting one's parents[1]	.015	.059	.107	.054
4. Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	.134	.088	.031	.044
5. Pleasing one's parents[2]	-.009	.054	.087	.134
B. PEER GROUP				
6. Being a leader in activities[1]	.124	.071	.169	.073
7. Participating in sports[1]	.122	.120	.147	.067
8. Going out on dates[1]	.105	.023	.120	.079
9. Being popular in school[1]	.026	.045	.067	.022
10. Earning money[1]	.123	.058	.082	.032
11. Being accepted by other students[2]	.116	.136	.159	.039
12. Being well liked[3]	.023	.095	.207	.050
13. Having a good reputation[1]	.023	.133	.093	.017
C. INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION				
14. Preferred school image:[4] Brilliant student Athlete or leader Most popular	.065	.143	.298	.163
15. Learning much in school[2]	.040	.087	.161	-.001
16. Working hard on studies[1]	.122	.154	.129	.029
17. Doing serious reading[1]	.030	.067	.182	.126
18. Planning for the future[1]	.043	.046	.069	.058
19. Liking classical music[5]	.014	.105	.262	.167
D. FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE				
20. Best way to get ahead[6]	-.034	.026	.175	.050
Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]				
21. High income	.094	.033	.096	.029
22. No danger of being fired	.090	-.004	.145	.129
23. Lots of free time	.086	-.006	.085	.016
24. Chances for advancement	.081	-.010	.157	.028
25. A feeling of accomplishment	.132	.139	.179	.128

TABLE 10-7

(Continued)

	Choice of Best School Friend is			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
Values	Reciprocal	Not recip.	Reciprocal	Not recip.
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[3]				
26. Knowledge of community problems	.020	.029	.111	.073
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	.144	.089	.148	.129
28. Developing one's morals and values	.075	.095	-.016	.065
29. Learning to get along with people	.006	.010	.140	.091
30. Social and athletic activities	.172	.034	.091	.012
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	.032	.042	.172	.058
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	.038	.068	.189	.078
33. Providing vocational training	.122	.016	.140	.072
Average for all questions	.068	.063	.129	.070
Total N[9]	(565)	(693)	(621)	(449)

Pass 113-114; 195; 200; 202

[*] Measured by tau-beta.

1-9 See Footnotes to Table 10-1.

is .068 for reciprocated friendship choices and .063 for unreciprocated pairs. In Denmark, however, there is a slight trend for reciprocity to be associated with greater concordance. Average tau-betas are .129 for reciprocated choices, but only .070 for those which are not (see Table 10-7). The difference is larger among girls than among boys (data not presented).

VI. Conclusion:

The most striking finding of this chapter is the low degree of concordance on values between the adolescent and his mother and the adolescent and his best-school-friend that is observed in the United States and Denmark. Concordance on 33 value questions was found to be consistently positive but low. The differences in tau-betas between countries and between peers and mothers were extremely small. There was a very slight trend for concordance with best-school-friend to be higher than concordance with mother among Danish girls.

We could not identify any factors in the adolescent-parent or adolescent-friend relationship which systematically affected the degree of concordance with mother or with best-school-friend. We examined patterns of family interaction, adolescent's position in the adolescent society and reciprocity of friendship choices. Except for a slight effect of reciprocity on concordance with best-school-friend in Denmark, none of these variables were found to affect the levels of concordance. We also were not able to replicate the most consistently-reported finding in the literature on family transmission, namely, that concordance among mother-daughter is greater than among mother-son pairs.

Concordance did not vary significantly across value areas even though the population of adolescents and mothers differs in certain areas. Adolescents and mothers hold distinctive values concerning the present life of the adolescent and are more alike with regard to general values relevant to his future life. Adolescents value their peer group somewhat more and the family and their present educational and intellectual development somewhat less than their mothers think they should. Adolescents who have relatively high status in the peer group value the peer group even more than other adolescents. These differences in values between the two generations occur in both countries.

The most significant cross-cultural differences in values occur in the areas of the occupational and educational future of the adolescent. American adolescents and mothers alike are more likely to choose tangible and material benefits related to material success and personal mobility, while Danes prefer the intangible feeling of accomplishment. Similarly, as a specific avenue of success, Americans choose hard work while Danes predominantly select having a pleasant personality. There are also cultural differences in attitudes toward higher education;

the Americans think education more valuable both for intellectual development and future occupational advancement than the Danes, but no more valuable for social maturation or the development of ethical standards.

We noted in Chapters 7 and 8 that the American adolescent, who is a member of strong adolescent societies (Chapter 4), also has strong ties with members of his immediate family. The Danish adolescent would seem to be more independent, both inside the family and outside. But the apparent control of the adolescent by his family in the United States and his relative independence in Denmark do not indicate the respective degree to which adolescents in each culture have internalized adults' values. Both Americans and Danes, far from having rejected their parents, hold values quite similar to theirs. But the low levels of concordance, both with mother and best-school-friend, are somewhat surprising. They suggest that, if the adolescent does not hold values very close to those of his mother, he is not closer to his peer as far as these general values go.

The question which must remain unanswered is where does the adolescent get his values from? While agreement within families and within friendship pairs is very low on the values we have studied, adolescents and adults in each country give answers typical of their respective culture. Certainly, concordance can be higher on other issues than the ones investigated here. As we will see in the next chapter, concordance on educational plans, which are more concrete issues than values, is highly positive.

Chapter 11

Concordance on Educational Plans Between Adolescent, Mother and Best-School-Friend

We are interested not only in the influence of parents and peers on abstract issues but on more concrete goals of direct relevance to the adolescent's future role in life. This chapter focuses upon future goals of the adolescent, in particular his educational plans. We analyze, in the same manner as was done for values, the simultaneous influences of parents and peers.

In contrast to general values, the area of educational goals is one in which a great deal of research has been done on sources of influence, and in particular on parental and peer influences. However the majority of these studies have investigated separately the influence of parents or of peers on the adolescent's educational plans. Very few have investigated simultaneously the relative influence of peers and parents. As McDill and Coleman (1965) point out in a recent article, research has documented the influence of parental socio-economic status and of the adolescent subculture on the academic aspirations of students. 'However, the relative contributions of family background and of peer influences have been somewhat neglected." (p. 111.)

Furthermore, the studies on educational goals are subject to the same major criticisms which were made of value studies in the preceding chapter. They have used indirect indicators of parental or peer goals, and they have frequently failed to establish a causal link from the one person to the other. The establishment of agreement is necessary but not sufficient to establish influence from one person to the other. For agreement by itself can result from the common social situation in which interacting members are located and not from the interaction itself. Thus, in this study, in order to establish that concordance reflects the influence of mothers or best friends upon the adolescent, we study concordance while holding characteristics of the social environment constant, such as social class or program in school.

Studies of parental influence most often use parental social class or parental education as an indicator of parental educational aspirations for their children. It is a fact that middle class parents tend to have higher aspirations for their children than lower class parents. (See for instance Hyman, 1953.) But as Kahl and several other investigators have pointed out, even a working class boy will aspire to a college education if he is encouraged by his parents to do so. (Kahl, 1953; Ellis and Lane, 1963; Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956; Bordua, 1960;

Lipset and Bendix, 1959.) Similarly, Simpson (1962) showed that parental advice to enter a profession was a better predictor of high occupational plans than social class. The influence of parental encouragement on educational plans has also been shown by other investigators (Cohen, 1965; Strodbeck, 1958; Haller, 1959).

The studies of peer influences on academic achievement and aspirations have generally been concerned with the influence of the value climate of schools on the adolescents within them. (Coleman, 1959, 1961, 1966; Herriott, 1963; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Michael, 1961; Ramsøy, 1962; Turner, 1964; Boyle, 1966; Wallace, 1966; Wilson, 1959; McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966)[1]. Boocock (1966) and McDill, Meyers and Rigsby (1966) present recent and comprehensive reviews of studies on peer group influences on educational achievement and educational plans. The prevalent view is that peers provide a deterrent to intellectual development during adolescence. (Coleman, 1960, 1961; Tannenbaum, 1962; Braham, 1965.)

> The relative unimportance of academic achievement...suggests that these adolescent sub-cultures are general deterrents to academic achievement...high schools allow the adolescent sub-culture to divert energies into athletics, social activities and the like... the high school seems to do more than allow these sub-cultures to discourage academic achievement; it aids them in doing so. (Coleman, 1960, p. 344).

Our own analysis of the American schools in our sample confirms that the climate of American high schools,as constituted by its students, is not very conducive to intellectual achievement. However, one must distinguish between academic achievement during high and educational ambitions following high school graduation. Thus, members of the leading crowd, while discouraging academic achievement, more frequently plan to go on to college than non-members. (See Chapter 4 of this report; Coleman, 1961; McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966.)

While many studies have focused upon the general climates of values and attitudes formed by peers in school, very few studies have actually examined the specific plans of the adolescent's friends. Alexander and Campbell (1964) studied the college plans of 1,410 male seniors in 30 high schools in North Carolina when matched to their best-school-friend and found that at a given status level "a student and his best friend tend to be similar in college plans and that the extent of similarity is greater when the choice is reciprocated."

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[1] It should be noted that McDill, Meyers and Rigsby's (1966) measure of school climates include data from teachers as well as from students.

Haller and Butterworth (1960) similarly examined the correlation of the levels of occupational and educational aspirations of 245 peer-pairs among 17 year old high school boys in Michigan. A peer-pair was defined as "a pair of subjects who named each other when asked to list all those they considered their best friends" (p. 291). Socio-economic status, intelligence and parental desires for high level social achievement were controlled in turn in both members of the pairs. The results were inconclusive. Mean intra-class correlations were higher for occupational plans (.31) than for educational aspirations (.19). But the authors conclude that "the data are probably sufficient to warrant tentative rejection of the aspect of the hypothesis which holds that peers tend to influence each other's levels of educational aspiration. But here, too, the evidence is not conclusive." (p. 295)

While McDill, Meyers and Rigsby (1966) focused the major part of their analysis on the influence of high school value climates, they also used what they called a "direct indicator" of the plans of the adolescent's immediate friends. However, this direct indicator is really an indirect one since it consists of the adolescent's report of the number of his friends who are planning to go to college or are already there. McDill, Meyers and Rigsby found that the proportion of friends planning to go to college or already enrolled exerted a strong effect on the adolescent's educational aspirations. (1966, Chapter V, p. V-6) In fact, they found that "controlling friends' influence results in the virtual disappearance of the effects of five of the six climate dimensions" on students' college plans (p. V-6). This conclusion is in accord with Campbell and Alexander's general position that the effect of a large social system, such as the school, is mediated by the individual's immediate social environment: "The value systems and normative milieux of the larger social structure typically influence the behavior of individuals through transmission and enforcement of certain specific values." (Campbell and Alexander, 1965, p. 284.) These investigators showed that the general effect of schools on adolescent's educational plans could be interpreted by the socio-economic status of the adolescents' friends in different schools (1965).

Three studies have been specifically concerned with the relative influence of parents and peers on adolescents' aspirations. None had available to it direct indicators of both parental and peer educational aspirations.

A study by McDill and Coleman (1965) is most pertinent to the present investigation since it was concerned with the very same problem, namely "the relative effects of certain family background and peer influences on the college intentions of students from 6 public high schools" (McDill and Coleman, 1965, p. 111). The basic data were those collected by Coleman in The Adolescent Society on the same high school students in their freshman and senior years. McDill and Coleman base most of their argument on father's education as the indicator of parental educational aspirations rather than on specific parental aspirations, which they also knew. Furthermore, their measure of peer influence is also an indirect one, consisting of the respondent's status in the high school social structure as indicated by the number of mentions as member of the leading crowd. The use of this variable was based upon the finding reported in The Adolescent Society (Coleman, 1961) that members of the leading crowd have higher college aspirations than non-members. The major conclusion of these authors is that their:

> investigation seriously challenges the generally accepted notion that the socio-economic background of the child is a more important source of variation in his educational aspirations than are peer group influences...by the end of the senior year of high school, the prestige of the adolescents in the school social system contributes more to variations in their stated college plans than does their father's or mother's education. (McDill and Coleman, 1965, p. 125)

However, it is interesting to note that this conclusion is based solely on parental education as the indirect indicator of parental aspirations for their children. Different conclusions would be reached on the basis of the parents' actual desires for their children - findings which McDill and Coleman present in the body of the paper, but disregard in their general conclusion. It is true that, whether father's education or parental desires is used as an indicator of parental aspirations, McDill and Coleman's data show that parental influence decreases from the freshman to the senior years; and influence of school status increases. However, on the basis of the data they present, even in the senior year, the influence of actual parental desires is greater (.282) on adolescents' plans than school status (.237). Even though McDill and Coleman recognize that father's education is a crude indicator of parental aspirations and even though they have data on the parents' actual educational desires for their children, they focus most of their analysis on father's education. Their general conclusion disregards data which would lead to a completely different conclusion and one which would not support the general thesis they are trying to develop. The conclusions we could draw from their data is that even at the end of high school, parents exert a greater influence than peers on the educational plans of high school students.

Studying simultaneous parental and peer influences on occupational aspirations of high school students, Simpson (1962) found that for both middle class and lower class boys, parental and peer influences exerted independent influence upon occupational aspirations. However, "parental influence was more strongly related to aspirations than peer influences" (p. 521). Even more than McDill and Coleman's study (1965), Simpson's study suffers from the fact that the indicators of both parental and peer influences are indirect ones. Parental influence was measured by the child's report of his parents' pressure to enter a profession. High peer influence was defined by two criteria: belonging to two or more clubs, and mentioning at least one middle-class friend. These criteria for both types of influence are obviously very indirect ones.

Finally, Herriott (1963) correlated the adolescents' educational aspirations with the educational expectations he perceived from eleven different types of persons, including father, mother, teachers, and various kinds of friends. His sample consisted of 1489 students in a Massachusetts high school. The highest correlation was obtained with the perceived expectations of a same age friend.

As we stressed in Chapter 10 in the analysis of concordance on values, the present study provides an unusual opportunity to study the influences of parents and peers both independently and simultaneously. The sample of triads provides data on the actual educational aspirations of parents for their children and the educational aspirations of the adolescent's best-school-friend.

Thus, this chapter focuses upon the following questions:

(1) What is the distribution of educational plans of adolescents and of the mothers' educational plans for the adolescents in the United States and Denmark?

(2) What is the relative degree of concordance that exists between adolescent and mother and adolescent and best-school-friend on future educational goals in both countries?

(3) What is the influence of common external social conditions on concordance with mother and with friend in the United States and Denmark?

(4) & (5) What factors in the mother-adolescent and best-friend-adolescent relationships affect the degree of mother and friend influence upon the adolescent's educational plans in both countries?

I. The Distribution of Educational Plans:

Students and parents were asked parallel questions about the adolescent's educational plans. Students were asked to indicate the highest level of education they expected to complete; parents stated the highest level they wanted their child to complete. Because of differences in the educational systems in the United States and Denmark,[1] different levels of education are specified in each country. The United States alternatives are: high school, two-year college, four-year college and graduate educations. The educational goals specified for Denmark do not represent such a regular progression toward higher academic training, since they also include training preparatory for some occupation or vocation. Such training normally culminates in the passing of an exam demonstrating proficiency or accomplishment in the specified field. Among the varieties of vocational training, some of which involve on-the-job training, are commercial, home economics, nursing, and various apprenticeship programs. Training at a teachers college, leading to a "teacher exam," is an additional alternative. The Danish educational alternatives are: secondary school, vocational training, teachers college, gymnasium, and university.

Cross-cultural differences emerge in the patterns of educational aspirations among adolescents and mothers in the United States and Denmark. Table 11-1 shows the distributions of aspirations among the two generations in each country.

In the United States, mothers have higher ambitions for their children than the children themselves. As shown in Table 11-1, 41% of the children in the United States do not want to go beyond high school while only 24% of the mothers would like their child to stop at the high school level.[2] In Denmark, the situation is reversed: only 20% of the children are willing to stop at the secondary school level as compared to 39% among the mothers. The difference is accounted for by the fact that more children than mothers aspire to vocational training. About equal numbers of children and mothers aspire for the child to get further academic training, such as to attend a teachers college or go through the gymnasium and the university.

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[1] The Danish educational system is described in detail in Chapter 3.

[2] The tendency for parents in the United States to have higher educational aspirations for their children than the children themselves has also been noted in several surveys carried out since 1939 (Jaffe and Adams, 1964).

TABLE 11-1

Educational Aspirations of Adolescents and Mothers by Sex of the Child, in the United States and Denmark[1] (Dyads)

	UNITED STATES					
Educational Aspirations for the Adolescent	Adolescents			Mothers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
High school	32%	50%	41%	16%	33%	24%
Two year college	18	21	20	28	33	31
Four year college	37	21	29	29	23	26
Graduate study	13	8	10	27	11	19
Total N	(391)	(405)	(796)	(578)	(552)	(1130)
Percent undecided of all adolescents	24%	21%	22%			
Grand total N	(514)	(512)	(1026)			

	DENMARK					
	Adolescents			Mothers		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Secondary school	19%	21%	20%	32%	44%	39%
Vocational, commercial training	37	51	44	23	24	23
Teacher college (Teacher Exam)	8	14	10	7	11	9
Gymnasium (Studenter Exam)	10	7	9	9	11	10
University	26	7	17	29	10	19
Total N	(326)	(291)	(617)	(427)	(475)	(902)
Percent undecided of all adolescents	27%	39%	33%			
Grand total N	(449)	(478)	(927)			

Pass 107/T44,49

[1] Based on St.Q. 150 and Pt.Q. 63.

The same generational and cross-cultural differences appear for boys and girls. But in both countries, adolescents and their mothers hold lower educational aspirations for girls than for boys.

We would suggest that these cross-cultural differences may reflect differences in the degree of industrialization of the two countries. Denmark is a traditional society in which parents hold traditional views and in which the society at large appears to impose new values upon the adolescent. In the United States, where educational opportunities for all have been available for a longer period of time, the adolescent appears to need more direction by his parents in order to achieve his goals. Indeed, when asked how they feel about their child going to college or university, many more American (50%) than Danish (6%) mothers report that they have strongly encouraged their child to continue his education.

II. Concordance on Educational Plans:

As we stressed when we examined values among adolescents and mothers, distributions of answers do not provide a good indication of the amount of agreement that exists either within families or within pairs of best-school-friends. In order to assess the influence of parent and peers on educational plans, we examine the degree of concordance on plans between the matched pairs of adolescent and mother and adolescent and best-school-friend in our sample of triads.[1] In order to allow for cross-cultural comparisons of the relative degrees of concordance with parents and peers, the number of Danish educational alternatives were reduced

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[1] As in the preceding chapter, the analysis of factors related to concordance is based alternately on pairs drawn from the sample of triads and on pairs from the sample of dyads. When we wish to compare directly levels of concordance with mother and with best-school-friend, we limit ourselves to pairs drawn from the triads. When we want to investigate factors that influence the levels of concordance and want to maximize the number of cases, we use all the pairs from our samples of dyads. (See Chapter 3 for specification of samples.) As shown by the tau-beta's listed below, the levels of concordance are about identical among pairs drawn from each sample.

Concordance* on Educational Plans

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
Between	Dyads	Triads	Dyads	Triads
Adolescent and mother	.495	.504	.489	.475
Adolescent and best friend	.367	.389	.279	.268

*As measured by tau-beta.

from five to four in order to make them identical to the number of American alternatives. The alternatives of teachers college and gymnasium were combined into one. In both countries, respondents who did not answer the educational question and adolescents who checked the alternative "undecided" were not included in the analysis. The data are presented in Table 11-2.

The results are striking and follow identical trends in both the United States and Denmark.

(1) Concordance on educational goals either with mother or best-school-friend is much higher than concordance on values. The tau-beta's are highly significant and range from .217 to .532, whereas average concordance on the 33 value questions was .081 for the mother and .065 for best friend in the United States and .100 and .110, respectively, in Denmark (see Table 10-3 in Chapter 10). It is of further interest to note that concordance on educational goals with both mother and best-school-friend is not only higher than on values, but also on most of the other variables on which concordance analyses were carried out. Thus concordance on educational goals with mother is higher than concordance on perception of patterns of family interaction (see Table 8-17) but lower than concordance on perception of demographic characteristics of the family (Table 8-18). In both countries, concordance on educational goals with best-school-friend is also higher on most of the characteristics shared by friends: social class background, the enjoyment of various leisure time activities, and most measures of sociometric behavior. (see Table 6-10). In the United States, the only other variable on which adolescent-best-school friend pairs show higher concordances than on educational goals are age and program in school; in Denmark, agreement is also higher on several others, such as time spent on homework, self-assigned grades, enjoyment of art and music, dating, number of mentions as member of the leading crowd, number of friends named.

(2) Concordance on plans for both boys and girls in both cultures is higher for mother than for best-school-friend. Thus, concordance is .504 for mother and .389 for best-school-friend in the United States and .475 and .268 respectively, in Denmark.

(3) The greater concordance with mother than with best-school-friend holds for both boys and girls in both countries. However, in both countries, girls have higher levels of agreement with their mothers than boys. In the United States, girls also show greater concordance with their school friend than boys (.423 versus .308). The reverse is true in Denmark where the agreement on educational plans with best friend

TABLE 11-2

Concordance* on Educational Plans between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend by Sex, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

Concordance on Educational Plans[1]	UNITED STATES Concordance with Mother	 Best-School-Friend	DENMARK Concordance with Mother	 Best-School-Friend
Total Sample	.504	.389	.475	.268
Total N	(740)	(531)	(532)	(378)
Boys	.427	.308	.452	.294
Total N	(357)	(245)	(273)	(210)
Girls	.532	.423	.482	.217
Total N	(383)	(286)	(259)	(168)

Pass 213/1,2; Pass 221/DEN

*As measured by tau-beta. All associations significant at .001 level.

[1] Four-category version of educational plans. The Danish categories have been reduced to four by combining the gymnasium and teacher college alternatives.

is higher among boys than among girls (.294 versus .217). Thus, we are able to replicate with respect to educational goals the oft reported finding of greater consensus among mother-daughter than mother-son pairs (Furstenberg, 1967), although this difference is much greater in the United States (.532 versus .427) than in Denmark (.482 versus .452). It will be recalled that we were unable to replicate this finding with respect to concordance on general values (see Chapter 10).

(4) Overall degree of concordance is higher both with respect to mother and to best-school-friend in the United States and Denmark. However, the cross-cultural difference with respect to best-school-friend is much larger than with respect to mother. The cross-cultural differences concerning concordance with mother is minimal. The measures of concordance are .504 in the United States versus .475 in Denmark. By contrast the levels of concordance with best friend are .389 in the United States versus .268 in Denmark. Furthermore, it is especially among girls that the cross-cultural differences are strong. In fact, as regards the mother, concordance among the Danish boys is slightly higher than among the Americans. (Table 11-2) But the tau-beta differences are very small. The most important cross-cultural difference overall concerns the greater concordance with best-school-friend of the American girls as compared to the Danes.

Thus, the subjective feeling of independence from parents that is experienced so strongly by the Danish adolescent is not in fact reflected in the actual degree of agreement or disagreement that he holds with his parent as compared to the more dependent American adolescent. Irrespective of the subjective feelings experienced by adolescents in the two cultures, the actual agreement with parents is equal in both. It is also clear that in both countries, peers exert less influence than parents on future educational goals.

The greater influence of parents than of peers on the adolescent's educational plans is illustrated dramatically when one examines the adolescent's aspirations simultaneously with his mother's aspirations for him and with the plans of his best-school-friend. The data are presented in Table 11-3. In order to simplify the analysis, educational plans in both countries have been dichotomized. In the United States, the categories are secondary school only and beyond secondary school. The beyond secondary school level category in Denmark includes only gymnasium, university, or teachers college. Vocational training has been included with the secondary school category. The results show very clearly that in both countries the influence of the mother is greater than that of the friend. Thus, in the United States, 49% of the adolescents want to continue beyond the secondary school level when their mother has college plans for them and their best-school-friend intends to stop at the high school level. By contrast, only 21% of adolescents intend to go to college when their mother has no college plans, even though their best-school-friend intends to go on to college. That friends have some influence beyond that of the mother is also shown by the increase in college plans when both mother and best-school-friend have college

TABLE 11-3

Percent of Adolescents Planning to Continue their Academic Education by Best-School-Friend's Educational Plans and Mother's Educational Aspirations for Adolescent, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

Percent of Adolescents with Plans for Higher Education

Best-School-Friend's Plans	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Mother's Aspirations				Mother's Aspirations			
	High School		College		Secondary Vocational		University[1]	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High school (secondary, vocational)	8	(88)	49	(134)	8	(166)	66	(64)
College (university[1])	21	(38)	83	(267)	26	(47)	84	(77)

Pass 218/12

[1] Includes gymnasium, university and teacher's college.

Weighted effect parameter of:	United States	Denmark
Mother's aspirations	.492**	.578**
Best-school-friend plans	.288**	.179**

** $p < .01$

plans: in the United States, the proportion of adolescents with college plans increases from 49% when only the mother has college aspirations for them to 83% when both their best-school-friend and their mother do. Similar trends are observed in Denmark with respect to plans for further academic education. However, in both countries, the effect of mother (as measured by Coleman's weighted effect parameter) is much higher than that of the best-school-friend: in the United States it is is approximately twice as high, in Denmark three times as high. Relative to the effects observed in the United States, the effect of the mother is stronger in Denmark (.578 in Denmark versus .492 in the United States) while that of the best friend is smaller (.179 versus .288) (see Table 11-3). But, these cross-cultural differences are small. In both countries, taken together, mother and best-school-friend account for over 75% of the variation in educational plans of the adolescent.

The objection could be raised that the comparison of mother and friend influences is biased in favor of the mother, since it compares aspirations which the mother holds for her child with the aspirations which the friend holds for himself. The mother's goals, then, could reflect not only what she ideally would desire for her child, but also her account of the child's ability and wishes for himself. The friend's own aspirations, of course, do not take what he knows about his friend into account. One could use the family educational attainment as a very rough indicator of the parent's educational goals for his child if he did not have feedback from the child's behavior. But this would be very rough, indeed, for irrespective of the attributes of their own children, parents may develop educational aspirations quite at divergence with their present educational attainment. The family educational attainment would thus represent the lowest possible level of parental influence. As we would expect, the correlation between parents' educational level (whether the mother's or the father's) with the adolescent's plans (see Table 11-4) is much lower than concordance between parental educational goals and the adolescent's plans (compare with Table 11-1). But it seems to us completely misleading to use parental education as the indicator of parental influence. Irrespective of the factors which lead the parent to develop particular aspirations for his child, his actual desires are what will influence the child. The variables we use reflect in our opinion the actual processes of influence. We do not know what friends' educational aspirations are for each other. Perhaps, it is not crucial since peers influence each other a great deal by imitation of each other's behaviors. Furthermore, we have data on how much encouragement the adolescent perceives that his friends give him to pursue his education. This information is based on the following question (Qx. 62): "How would your close friends here at school react if you decided to attend college?" The response alternatives included: "they would encourage me," "they would discourage me," "they wouldn't care." The answers to that question indicate the adolescent's

TABLE 11-4

Correlations* between Adolescent's Educational Goals and Parents' Education in the United States and Denmark

Correlation between Adolescent's Plans and	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Tau-Beta	Total N	Tau-Beta	Total N
Father's education	.177	(770)	.241	(600)
Mother's education	.199	(788)	.195	(605)

Pass 230/01,05

* $p < .001$

perception of his friends' educational aspirations for him: friends who provide strong encouragement wish him to go on to college. The association (as measured by tau-beta) between this question and the adolescent's educational goals is .259 in the United States and .176 in Denmark. These tau-beta values are lower than the measures of concordance on educational goals within friendship pairs (.389 in the United States and .268 in Denmark.) But the cross-cultural differences in relative influence of friend can still be observed.

Furthermore, as we would expect on the basis of this result, the relative effect of parents' and friends' are similar to those reported in Table 11-3 when one now substitutes for the actual plans of the best friend, the adolescent's perception of his friends' educational influence. Adolescents who report that their friends would encourage them to continue their education are more likely to plan to go to college than those who report that their friends would discourage them or would not care. However, as shown in Table 11-5, the influence of the mother's plans is much greater than that of perceived peer influence. In fact, the effect of perceived friends' encouragement is even lower than that of the friends' actual plans especially in Denmark, when we compare the effect parameters presented in Table 11-3 and 11-5. Thus, the effect of best-school-friend's plans is .179 in Denmark as compared to .055 for perceived friends' encouragement. The cross-cultural differences are even accentuated. Maternal influence in Denmark is higher than in the United States, while perceived peer influence is lower by larger margins.

The greater influence of the mother as compared to the best-school-friend in both countries can also be observed in relation to future occupational goals. Adolescents were asked what jobs whey would like to have 15 years hence if their desires could be realized and what job they actually expected to hold at that time. Mothers were asked parallel questions about the occupational aspirations and occupational expectations they held for their children. In both countries, the results concerning the relative influence of parents and peers on occupational goals within each country are similar to those obtained with respect to educational aspirations. As shown in Table 11-6,

- levels of concordance on occupational goals are much higher than those on values.

- concordance with mother is consistently higher than concordance with best-school-friend.

TABLE 11-5

Percent of Adolescents Planning to Continue their Academic Education by Mother's Educational Plans and Perception of Friends' Encouragement (Triads)

	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Mother's Aspirations				Mother's Aspirations			
Friends' Encouragement of College Decision	High School		College		Secondary Vocational		University[1]	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Would encourage	27	(104)	79	(422)	12	(126)	82	(124)
Not care, discourage	8	(85)	55	(166)	11	(225)	69	(97)

Pass 204/04 A-B

[1] Includes gymnasium, university and teacher's college

Weighted effect parameter of:	United States	Denmark
Mother's aspirations	.503**	.637**
Perception of Friends' Encouragement	.225**	.055**

** $p < .01$

TABLE 11-6

Concordance* on Occupational Goals between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

Concordance on	UNITED STATES Concordance with Mother	 Best-School-Friend	DENMARK Concordance with Mother	 Best-School-Friend
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS				
Total sample	.358***	.209***	.560***	.129**
Total N	(619)	(769)	(565)	(710)
Boys	.254*	.159*	.525***	.092#
Total N	(374)	(431)	(302)	(380)
Girls	.485***	.240***	.620***	.188**
Total N	(245)	(338)	(263)	(330)
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS[1]				
Total sample	.600***	.189***	.660***	.222***
Total N	(367)	(430)	(301)	(456)
Boys	.528***	.211***	.623***	.164**
Total N	(249)	(281)	(209)	(323)
Girls	.835***	.114#	.751***	.356***
Total N	(118)	(149)	(92)	(133)

Pass 213/1,2,25-30, 55-62

* As measured by tau-beta. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

# Not significant

[1] Includes only boys and girls and, their mothers who made a specific occupational choice, excludes girls and mothers who chose housewife. Occupational categories include: Blue collar, white collar and professional.

- concordance with mother is higher among girls than boys.
- concordance with best-school-friend on occupational aspirations is higher among girls than than among boys.

However, the cross-cultural differences in absolute levels of concordance with mother and best-school-friend are not the same for occupational goals as for educational plans. Concordance with mother is higher on occupational aspirations for boys and girls and on occupational expectations for boys in Denmark than in the United States. For occupational expectations of girls, concordance with mother is higher in the United States than in Denmark. For best-school-friend, levels of concordance are consistently higher in the United States than in Denmark, except for occupational expectations among girls.

Thus, while the relative influence of parents and peers is identical in both countries and is repeated for each of the three future life goals of the adolescent, the actual levels of concordance vary in each country for each of these areas. Overall, concordance with friends is consistently higher in the United States than in Denmark. On the other hand, while little cross-cultural difference appears with respect to concordance with mother on educational plans, with respect to occupational goals, concordance with mother is higher in Denmark than in the United States - with the exception of expectations for girls.

These data provide strong supporting evidence for the fact that with respect to goals relevant to the adolescent's future life, parents play a much more important role than peers.[1]

McDill and Coleman (1965) presented evidence that there was a change over time in the relative influence of parents and peers on the adolescent's educational plans. They found that parental influences decreased from the freshman to the senior year in high school while the influence of status in school increased. The decreasing influence of parents throughout adolescence has been accepted by many sociologists (Parsons, 1942; Douvan and Adelson, 1966).

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[1] The adolescent's best-school-friend, of course, does not represent all possible peer influences, nor does it necessarily represent the influence of the adolescent's very best friend. Data presented later on in this chapter indicates that even among adolescents for whom the school friend represents their very best friend overall, concordance on educational plans is lower with friend than with mother (see Table 11- 22).

Out data, however, do not support the conclusions that parental influence over future plans decreases over time as compared to that of peers. Concordance on educational plans with mother and with best friend by age of the adolescent is presented in Table 11-7. It is clear from these data that the concordance levels vary from year to year between the ages of 14 to 18. Concordance with mother does not show a consistent decrease nor does concordance with friend show a consistent increase. These trends are not altered when sex of the child is taken into account. (Data not presented).

III. Concordance: Influence or Convergence

The levels of concordance on educational plans are high. However, as we stressed repeatedly in Chapter 10, high concordance coefficients between pairs of individuals do not necessarily reflect the direct influence of one member of the pair over the other. Indeed, high concordance may also result from the fact that both members of the pair are subject to the same external social influence. Thus, concordance on values between mother-children pairs has been found not to differ from levels of concordance with non-related adults in the same household (Furstenberg, 1967) or members of artificial families (Basset, 1949; Dentler and Hutchinson, 1961). In order to demonstrate transmission of values, or influence, from one member of the pair upon another, one must be able to show (1) that agreement between the two is not explained by a common external factor which both experience, and (2) that agreement is modified by characteristics of the patterns of interaction between the two individuals. If agreement results from the direct influence of one individual over the other, one should be able to demonstrate that different patterns of interaction and degrees of closeness affect the degree of influence.

The very high concordance on educational plans between adolescent and mother observed in our samples may result from the fact that adolescents and their mothers by definition belong to the same social class. The very important role of socioeconomic status as a determinant of educational aspirations has been documented by very many studies. Similarly, in our samples of Americans and Danes, adolescents (and parents) classified as belonging to the middle class, on the basis of father's occupation, are more likely to want to continue their education beyond high school than those classified as belonging to the lower class. In the United States, among adolescents who are decided about their future educational career. 73% in the middle class have college plans as compared to 51% in the lower class. The comparable percentages of Danish adolescents who want to pursue an academic higher education are 46% and 21%.

TABLE 11-7

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescents and Mothers and Adolescents and Best-School-Friend by Age, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Concordance with	Age 14	 15	 16	 17	 18
UNITED STATES					
Mother	.613*	.561*	.418*	.542*	.432*
Total N	(23)	(112)	(229)	(261)	(159)
Best friend	.394*	.436*	.341*	.315*	.406*
Total N	(47)	(178)	(291)	(333)	(199)
DENMARK					
Mother	.822*	.483*	.540*	.416*	.582*
Total N	(10)	(174)	(178)	(163)	(55)
Best friend	.000	.172*	.296*	.320*	.188
Total N	(4)	(188)	(197)	(148)	(51)

Pass 204; Pass 214/05; Pass 218/16, 221/DEN/27

(Four-category version of educational plans)

*As measured by tau-beta. All significant at .01, except when no asterisk.

Similarly, the high concordance between the adolescent and his best-school-friend may result from some common experience that leads to the same educational plans among both friends, rather than from the specific influence of one friend upon the other. We discussed earlier in Chapter 6 some of the similarities in background, school experiences and sociometric status of friendship pairs in our sample of high school students (see Table 6-10). Strong similarities in social background could potentially explain the agreement on educational plans among friendship pairs. However, the family's social and economic characteristics are relatively unimportant criteria for association, especially in the United States, and especially as compared to other factors in both countries (see Table 6-10). In both countries, criteria such as age or program in school are much more important. As is to be expected, type of program taken in school is highly related to educational plans (see Table 11-8). The proportion of adolescents planning to go to college varies widely in different programs. In the United States, the highest proportion of adolescents planning to go to college is observed among students in the college preparatory course (92%) while the lowest is observed in the general program (30%). In Denmark, 51% of the students in the real line are planning to go on at least to gymnasium as compared to only 10% in the almen line. Thus, the common school experience of American and Danish adolescents could account for the observed agreement on educational plans between in-school friendship pairs.

It becomes necessary to examine concordance with mother and best-school-friend when these selected factors that describe the pairs' common social experiences are controlled. If concordance between members of a pair does not disappear when these factors are held constant, this would be an important piece of evidence that concordance is due to the actual influence of one person upon the other.

In order to establish definitely the fact that concordance either with mother or with best-school-friend is not due to membership in the same social class, social class was introduced as a control variable. The results are presented in Table 11-9. Concordance remains at approximately the same level when social class is held constant, establishing the fact that agreement with mother or best-school-friend within a particular social class is due to the direct influence of the mother or friend rather than to the fact that both members of the pair belong to the same class.

The data for mothers are particularly striking. The measures of concordance within each social class are very similar to what they were for the sample as a whole, and very similar in the middle and lower class in each country. They certainly have not disappeared nor have they even been appreciably reduced, as would have been the case had social class explained the initially high association between adolescent's and mother's plans. The cross-tabulations of mother's and adolescent's plans, on which the tau-betas in Table 11-9 are based,

TABLE 11-8

Educational Plans of Adolescents and Program in School in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

School Program

UNITED STATES

Educational Plans	General	College Preparatory	Vocational	Commercial
High school	70%	8%	33%	63%
College	30	92	67	37
Total N	(216)	(346)	(33)	(430)

DENMARK

	Almen	Real line
Secondary school	30%	14%
Vocational, commercial training	60	35
University[1]	10	51
Total N	(240)	(348)

Pass 214/06, 230/DEN/08A

[1] Includes gymnasium, university and teachers college.

TABLE 11-9

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and Mother and Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, Controlled by Social Class in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK			
Concordance with	Middle Class	Lower Class	Total Dyads	Middle Class	Lower Class	Farmer	Total Dyads
Mother	.542	.495	.495	.481	.491	.442	.489
Total N	(215)	(493)	(724)	(250)	(197)	(127)	(580)
Best-school-friend	.418	.325	.367	.199	.345	.231	.279
Total N	(261)	(612)	(1060)	(259)	(210)	(111)	(588)

Pass 194; 214/03; 208

*As measured by tau-beta. All significant at .01 level.

are most striking. In the United States, when their mothers have college aspirations for their children, 80% of middle-class and 67% of lower-class adolescents plan to go on to college. Thus, the proportion among the lower-class group is slightly lower than for the middle-class group, but much higher than among adolescents of either class whose mother wishes them to stop at the high school level; the proportion of adolescents with college plans among those whose mothers have no college aspirations for them are 20% and 16%, respectively, in the middle and lower class. Similar trends are observed in Denmark. The weighted effect parameters reflect these trends very strongly. In the United States, the effect of mother's plans on adolescent aspiration is .530 as compared to .108 for social class. Comparable effect parameters in Denmark for student's plans to get further academic training are .637 for mother influence and .077 for social class. These data provide strong evidence for Kahl's original observation that parental aspiration is a much more important determinant of children's educational aspirations than is social class membership. Kahl's conclusions were based on a series of intensive interviews with 20 lower-class families. The present findings are based upon a much larger sample of middle-class as well as lower-class families and have been replicated in the two countries under study.

We also studied the effects of other indicators of social status, such as family income and father's and mother's education, on educational plans and found similar results. (Data not presented.) These factors produce no effects on concordance with mother. Although concordance varied irregularly when these social factors were controlled, it remained consistently high.

For concordance with best friend, we also took into account not only the student's own social class, but also that of his best-school-friend. Controlling for the joint distribution of chooser's and chosen's social classes did not explain the influence of best friend on the adolescent's educational plans. As shown by Table 11-10, in both countries, the effect of best friend's plans is still much greater than that of the social-class background of either friend or adolescent. The adolescent's own social-class background is more important than that of his friend.

These results provide evidence in support of the conclusion that the concordance between adolescent and mother and adolescent and best-school-friend represents the influence of the mother or of the best friend on the individual rather than the influence of the common external social situation in which both are situated, as represented by social class. The data provide particularly strong evidence for the fact that parental desires and aspirations for their children are more important in determining the child's aspirations than socioeconomic background.[1]

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[1] There may be other external conditions which act simultaneously on parent and child besides social class, but these cannot be assessed in the present study.

TABLE 11·10

Weighted Effect Parameters of Best-School-Friend's Educational Plans on Adolescent's Educational Plans, When Controlled by Best Friend's Social Class and Adolescent's Own Social Class, in the United States and Denmark

Effect of:	United States	Denmark
Best friend's plans	.340**	.314**
Best friend's class	.044	.074
Adolescent's class	.197**	.213**

Based on data from Pass 218/18

** $p < .01$

The one factor most likely to account for concordance between best-school-friends is program in school. We noted above that friendships tend to develop among adolescents who take the same program in school, and that program in school is associated with future educational plans. When school program is introduced as a control variable, the initial concordance levels are consistently reduced in all groups in both countries (see Table 11-11). Program in school explains part of the concordance on educational plans that is observed between pairs of adolescents and their best-school-friends. Thus, in the United States, there is a tendency for students in the commercial or general program to want to stop their education at the high school level and for those in the college preparatory program to plan to continue, regardless of their best friend's plans. But school program does not explain concordance completely away. Concordance remains statistically significant except in the case of American students in the vocational program. Within each program the adolescents' plans are influenced to some extent by the plans of their school friends. For example, the proportion of American students with college plans in the commercial programs increases from 25% when the best friend intends to stop at the high school level to 56% when the best friend plans to go on to college.

We next go on to investigate the process of influence by examining the effects of interactional patterns which could increase or decrease concordance between adolescent and parent or adolescent and friend. If the concordance between adolescent and mother and adolescent and best-school-friend is indeed independent of the external social conditions in which the pairs are located, factors which increase or decrease that influence must be sought in the characteristics of the relationship itself.

IV. Concordance and Mother's Influence:

In order to understand further what factors might affect the degree of concordance and, thus, the transmission of values from one person to the next, we examined the nature of the adolescent's interaction with his mother and with his best friend in school.

A. Patterns of Family Interaction:

A number of family variables have been suggested in the literature as facilitating transmission of values from parent to child. These were reviewed at the beginning of Chapter 10. They include type of parental power, amount of communication, degree of closeness between parent and child and reliance on parental advice. While the earlier results concerning concordance on values were negative, we expected these interactional variables to show an effect on concordance on educational plans since the concordance levels were so much higher.

We expected that those adolescents who were closely integrated into their family, who felt close to their mothers or who depended upon

TABLE 11-11

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, Controlled by Adolescent's School Program (Dyads)

Concordance with Best friend			UNITED STATES		
	Commercial	General	College Preparatory	Vocational	Total
Concordance	.293***	.156*	.153***	.084	.367***
Total N	(430)	(216)	(346)	(33)	(1060)
			DENMARK		
			Almen	Real	Total
Concordance			.192**	.230***	.279***
Total N			(240)	(348)	(588)

Pass 214/06

Long version of educational plans

*As measured by tau-beta. *p <.05, **p < .01, ***p <.001.

their mothers for advice would show greater concordance on educational plans with their mother than those adolescents who did not feel as close. We expected closeness to mother to provide a facilitating context for the transmission of goals from parent to child. Certainly, these family variables are associated with the adolescent's subjective perception of how close his opinions are to those of his parents and with his preference for the company and opinions of his parents as opposed to those of his peers (see Chapters 7, 8, and 9).

However, these subjective perceptions of parental influence are not documented by the independent evidence obtained when we match the actual attitudes and goals of parent and adolescent. As in the case of values, the results for educational goals do not support our initial expectations. We examined the effect of the following family pattern variables on concordance on educational plans:

- the mother's authority pattern
- the extent to which she explains her decisions
- the adolescent's feeling of closeness to his mother
- the adolescent's reliance on his mother for advice
- scores on index of peer orientation
- preference for opinions of friends or mother
- whether adolescent feels that his opinions are similar to or different from those of his mother
- whether he experiences enough freedom from his mother

We expected degree of concordance to be positively related to reliance for advice, closeness to the mother, and the extent to which the mother explains her decisions, and to be highest for the democratic of the three types of authority patterns. Findings from studies on small groups led us to expect important differences in the socialization of children according to whether their parents were authoritarian, permissive or democratic. The democratic pattern was expected to be more successful in producing concordance than the other two. We also expected that those students who subjectively were more oriented to their parents than their peers, those who felt their opinions were similar to those of their parents and those who experienced sufficient freedom would show greater concordance than adolescents who did not feel this way.

In fact, the results which are obtained are inconsistent from country to country and mostly negative (see Table 11-12). These results were completely unexpected. Since we had shown earlier that

TABLE 11-12

Concordance* on Educational Plans by Patterns of Family Interaction in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Family Patterns[1]	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Tau-beta	N	Tau-beta	N
Maternal authority				
Authoritarian	.476	(298)	.419	(81)
Democratic	.499	(272)	.501	(343)
Permissive	.450	(115)	.527	(147)
Mother explains decisions				
Always	.443	(206)	.444	(252)
Usually	.525	(206)	.559	(203)
Sometimes	.482	(268)	.484	(110
Closeness to mother				
Extremely	.488	(216)	.659	(128)
Quite	.537	(202)	.404	(201)
Moderately	.447	(174)	.491	(166)
Not	.439	(85)	.451	(70)
Reliance on mother's advice				
High	.530	(254)	.523	(164)
Medium	.461	(364)	.458	(332)
Low	.455	(123)	.538	(82)

TABLE 11-12

(Continued)

Family Patterns[1]	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Tau-beta	N	Tau-beta	N
Index of peer orientation				
High	.489	(226)	.493	(197)
Medium	.536	(161)	.593	(156)
Low	.477	(268)	.415	(203)
Opinions of friends *vs.* mother				
Mother more	.496	(447)	.485	(329)
Equal	.580	(124)	.509	(184)
Friends more	.432	(77)	.513	(42)
Opinions different from parents				
Similar	.484	(345)	.556	(207)
Different	.550	(252)	.512	(297)
Enough freedom from mother				
Yes	.510	(449)	.541	(446)
No	.525	(147)	.386	(65)
Index of closeness to mother				
High	.511	(213)	.583	(145)
Medium	.462	(309)	.452	(318)
Low	.482	(161)	.520	(104)

Passes 107, 204, 216, 221/DEN, 223.

*As measured by tau-beta. All significant at .001. Long version of educational plans.

[1] Adolescent's perceptions.

concordance between mother and child was independent of the family's social-class background, we expected to show that concordance was affected by the characteristics of the parent-child interaction. Before rejecting definitely the hypothesis that patterns of family interaction affect the transmission of values from parent and child, we took one more step to strengthen our measure of closeness to parent. The MEDSCAL analysis presented in Chapter 8 showed that the same five family patterns clustered together in the United States and Denmark. We selected four of these items:[1] enjoying doing things with mother, talking problems over with mother, wanting to be like mother, and closeness to mother, and combined them into an "index of closeness to mother."[2] It was thought that this index would provide a more rigorous measure of closeness to parent than the individual items. However, as shown by the last entry in Table 11-12, this index does not show any more effect on concordance on educational plans than the separate items.

These results are sufficiently inconsistent and contrary to expectation that we conclude that these variables do not affect concordance on educational aspirations.

Thus, whether we examine general values or specific educational goals, we are unable to identify family variables that affect the levels of concordance. In the case of values, this could be attributed to the fact that the levels of concordance were very low to begin with. But those for educational aspirations are fairly high. Furthermore, Furstenberg (1967) found that the family variables he examined did affect one out of the seven values he considered, concordance on mobility orientation. This value was a composite index that included several items, including educational aspirations. As such, it is closely related to the variable of education aspirations examined in this chapter. However, we are unable to show any effects of family factors.

Following the arguments presented earlier, this would suggest that the concordance that is observed between parent and child is not the result of the specific influence of the mother on the adolescent and does not truly represent transmission of values from parent to child. Yet, we eliminated a possibility that concordance resulted from the common social background of mother and child when we controlled for social class and showed that the mother's specific educational aspirations were much more important influences on the adolescent's educational plans than socioeconomic status. However, concordance between mother and child may still result from some common experience outside the family other than social class, which we have not studied.

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[1] The fifth one, dependence upon mother for advice, was eliminated because it appeared at the end of the questionnaire and had a high non-response rate.

[2] Each item was scored from 1 to 5 and the final score represented the summed score on each of the items. On the basis of the resulting distribution of scores, three groups were formed: high (scores 4-8), medium (9-13) and low (14-20).

The failure to show the influence of family pattern variables on concordance, even when concordance is initially high, may also result from the fact that these variables are too general attributes of family life to reveal the differential influence of parents on children on a particular issue, such as educational plans. As we will now see, more specific variables do indeed show some effect.

B. Communication about Educational Issues and Attitudes:

The influence of the mother on the adolescent's level of aspiration is strongly revealed when we examine the actual content of her interactions with the adolescent about these plans. Parents were not only asked their educational aspirations for the adolescent, but also how strongly they had encouraged him (or her) to pursue his education after secondary school.

Table 11-13 shows that the mother's encouragement of higher education has a noticeable effect on the educational aspirations of her child. In the United States, for example, only 18% of children plan to stop their education at high school if the mother strongly encourages the pursuit of higher education, but this figure rises to 86% when the mother reports she has advised against college attendance. Attendance at all levels of higher education rises with greater encouragement. Similarly, in Denmark, increased maternal encouragement toward higher education substantially increases the proportions of students who aspire to academic higher education (the gymnasium, the university and teachers college) and reduces the proportions aspiring only to a secondary school education or to vocational training. These findings are in general agreement with studies which have examined the effect of parental encouragement on educational (and/or occupational) aspirations. Encouragement consistently has been found to be a very important factor in leading to high aspirations. (See, for instance, Bordua, 1960; Cohen, 1965; Kahl, 1953; Bell, 1963; Hollingshead, 1949; Mannino, 1962; Morrow and Wilson, 1961.)

The mother's choice of educational level and her degree of encouragement are very highly related, but they are not identical. A few mothers encourage higher education but actually propose only a low educational goal, while a few state that they discourage higher education but, nevertheless, propose a high educational goal. (Compare the Ns in Table 11-14.)

We analyzed simultaneously the effects of mother's encouragement and

TABLE 11-13

Adolescent's Educational Plans by Mother's Encouragement of Higher Education, in the United States and Denmark[1] (Dyads)

Adolescent's Educational Plans	Mother's Encouragement of Higher Education		
	Strong	Medium	Against
UNITED STATES			
High school	18%	60%	86%
Two year college	21	20	4
Four year college	46	14	4
Graduate study	15	6	7
Total N	(378)	(340)	(28)
DENMARK			
Secondary school	14%	17%	27%
Vocational, commercial training	17	37	63
Teacher college	11	16	2
Gymnasium	26	11	3
University	31	20	6
Total N	(35)	(347)	(135)

Pass 138/01-02; 221/DEN

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[1] Based on adolescent-mother pairs who have definite plans. Mother's report of encouragement.

TABLE 11-14

Adolescent's Educational Plans by Mother's Plans and Strength of Encouragement, for Child to Continue his Education, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

	Mother's Encouragement[2] and Mother's Educational Plans							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Strong		Medium Against		Strong Medium		Against	
Adolescent's Educational Plans	High School	College	High School	College	Second. Vocat.	Univ.	Second. Vocat.	Univ.
High school (Secondary, vocational)	65%	15%	83%	47%	86%	24%	93%	50%
College (University[1])	35	85	17	53	13	76	7	50
Total N	(17)	(361)	(149)	(219)	(176)	(206)	(125)	(10)

Passes 137-138, 204/20A

[1] In Denmark = gymnasium, university and teachers college

[2] Mother's perceptions. Different groupings of categories of encouragement were used in the two countries because of great differences in the distributions of answers. (See Table 11-16).

Weighted Effect of:	United States	Denmark
Mother's plans	.382**	.621**
Mother's encouragement	.302**	.089*

$*p < .05$, $**p < .01$

specific educational aspirations upon the child's plan (Table 11-14). Specific maternal aspirations and general maternal encouragement affect the child's level of aspiration independently, but the effect of the specific plans is the strongest of the two. In both countries, but especially in Denmark, the influence of the mother's specific plans is much greater (weighted effect parameter is .621) than that of maternal encouragement (.089). The greater the mother's encouragement, the greater the concordance on educational plans in those families in which the mother has college aspirations. Thus, the proportion of children who agree with their mother when she does not have college plans for them is higher in those families in which the mother is consistent in her attitudes and does not provide strong encouragement to go on to college.

Parents of different social classes vary not only in the kinds of educational goals they have for their children, but also somewhat in the encouragement they give their children to continue their education (see Table 11-15). When one controls simultaneously the mother's educational plans and strength of encouragement, the social-class effects on the child's own plans have completely disappeared in both countries. We noted earlier that the proportion of mother-child pairs with congruent college plans in American families in which the mother aspired for her child to go to college was 80% in the middle class and 67% in the lower class. When maternal strength of encouragement is held constant, the proportion of congruent college pairs is almost identical in each social class (Table 11-16). For example, the proportion of congruent American mother-child pairs among those mothers who have high aspirations and provide strong encouragement is 89% in the middle class and 82% in the lower class; comparable percentages in Denmark are 78% and 72%.

Similarly, the student was asked to whom he had talked about his educational plans. The mother is unanimously mentioned in both countries as the one person most often consulted. Thus, 86% of adolescents in the United States and 89% in Denmark report that they have talked to their mothers about their future educational plans (see Table 11-17).[1]

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[1] Important differences appear between the two countries in the extent to which various other persons are said to be consulted about future educational plans. More Danish adolescents than American mention their fathers. This is consistent with our previous discussion of the relative position of the father in American and Danish families. The Danish father plays a more central role in his family than the American. But the most striking cross-cultural differences concern the extent to which peers are mentioned in both countries. Americans are much more likely than Danes to report that they discuss their future plans with their peers, especially with those who are attending the same school. Thus, 60% of the Americans talk to their school friends about further education in contrast to 18% of the Danes. We explored and subsequently rejected the possibility that these differences in communication among peers could

(continued on page 11-39)

TABLE 11-15

Social Class and Mother Encouragement for Child to Continue his Education, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
Encouragement	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
Strong	60%	45%	11%	4%
Medium	36	51	71	68
Against	4	4	18	28
Total N	(210)	(465)	(229)	(177)

Pass 205/26A

TABLE 11-16

Percent of Adolescents with Plans to Continue Academic Education, when Mother Has College Aspirations by, Maternal Encouragement, and Social Class in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

	Mothers with College Aspirations							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Middle Class		Lower Class		Middle Class		Lower Class	
Percent of Adolescents	Strong Encour.	Medium Against Encour.	Strong Encour.	Medium Against Encour.	Strong Medium Encour.	Against	Strong Medium Encour.	Against
Who plan to continue academic education[1]	89%	56%	82%	50%	78%	(2)	72%	(2)
Total N	(122)	(48)	(196)	(153)	(124)	(4)	(50)	(3)

Pass 205/26A-B

[1] In United States: Two year college and over;
In Denmark: gymnasium, teacher college and university.

TABLE 11-17

Persons to Whom the Adolescent has Talked About How Much Education to Complete, in the United States and Denmark

Person	Percent of Adolescents	
	UNITED STATES	DENMARK
Mother	86	89
Father	67	85
Siblings	31	17
Other relatives	35	9
Friends in same school	60	18
Friends in other school	33	5
Friends in college	23	5
Friends not in school	21	5
Teachers	38	32
Total N	(2327)	(1552)

However, talking educational plans over with one's mother has different consequences in both countries. The American students who mention that they talk their plans over with their mother are much more likely to plan to go to college than those students who do not talk to their mother but talk to other people. In the United States 63% among those who talk to their mother plan to go on to college as compared to 37% among those who do not.(Pass 204/05A). In Denmark, however, the comparable percentages for planning to get a higher academic education are 37% versus 35%. This suggests that educational plans become a matter for discussion between parent and child only when the discussion involves going on to college; in those families in which the child intends to stop at the high school level, very little communication about educational matters takes place. Since we are dealing with cross-sectional data collected at one point in time, it is not possible to state which is cause and which is consequence. In the United States, communicating about these plans is not only associated with higher educational aspirations, but also with greater receptivity to the mother's college aspirations (see Table 11-18). Thus, among the mothers who want their child to go on to college, 75% of the children have similar aspirations when they discuss their plans with their mothers, but only 51% do when they do not communicate with the mother. While communication between mother and child increases the parent's influence upon the child, the parent's specific educational plans are still much more important. In Denmark, discussions of educational matters with the parent appear to have no effect (see effect parameters in Table 11-18). This finding corroborates a cross-cultural difference observed in the MEDSCAL analysis of family patterns. We found that talking problems over with parents was much more closely related to depending upon them for advice in the United States than in Denmark.

Furthermore, the student's own educational attitudes will make him more or less receptive to the parent's own educational aspirations, according to whether or not these aspirations are congruent with the adolescent's attitudes. Students were asked what was the best way to

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(Footnote^1 continued from page 11-35)
explain the cross-cultural differences in concordance with best-school-friend, which is higher in the United States than in Denmark (.389 versus .268). The data in Table 11-17 suggested that Danish adolescents do not influence the future educational goals of their friends to the extent that peers do in the United States simply because educational goals are subjects of discussion properly confined to the home and not ones that are the bases for discussion among friends to the extent that it is true in the United States. We examined concordance within friendship pairs according to whether or not the adolescents talked to their school friends about college. We found, in both countries, that concordance was not consistently higher among students who talked to their friends about college than among those who did not.

TABLE 11-18

Percent of Adolescent's With Plans to Continue Academic Education by Mother's Aspirations and Talking to Mother About College, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Percent of Adolescents	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	Mother's Plans				Mother's Plans			
	High School		College		Vocational Secondary		University	
	Talks to Mother				Talks to Mother			
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Who plan to continue academic education[1]	20	10	75	51	12	10	76	78
Total N	(156)	(31)	(531)	(63)	(321)	(31)	(204)	(18)

Pass 204/05A, B

Weighted effect of:	United States	Denmark
Mother's plans	.525**	.648**
Talking educational plans with mother	.200**	.005

**p < .01

[1] In United States: two year college and over
in Denmark: gymnasium, teacher college and university

get ahead in life. One of the six alternatives that could be checked was a college education. Table 11-19 shows that students who believe that a college education is the best way to get ahead are much more likely to have concordant college aspirations with their mothers than when they do not stress this alternative. Concomitantly, students are much more likely to have congruent educational plans with their mothers about not going on to college when they do not stress education as a way to advancement. (By contrast, the mother's own report of her attitude concerning the best way to get ahead has no effect on concordance.) Plans have a stronger influence relative to the child's attitude in Denmark than in the United States. In Denmark, the effect of mother's plans is .611 as compared to .157 for the child's attitude; in the United States, effects are .491 and .276, respectively.

V. Concordance and the Influence of Best Friend:

We have many fewer indicators of the characteristics of the interactions between the adolescent and his school friend than between him and his mother. However, in contrast to the findings for mother, we find that the influence of the best-school-friend on the adolescent varies according to the intensity of the friendship. We have several indicators of the intensity of interaction with friend. We know (1) whether or not the friendship choice is reciprocated, (2) how frequently the adolescent sees his school-friend out of school, and (3) whether his best-school-friend is also his best friend overall. The characteristics of American and Danish adolescents on these variables were discussed in Chapter 6: we noted that friendship choices were more often reciprocated in Denmark than in the United States, but that the proportion of very best friends who were in the same school with the adolescent and frequency of visiting was about the same in both countries. Here, we are interested in how these variables affect concordance between friendship pairs in a high school setting. We expected that friendship pairs characterized by greater intimacy and greater frequency of contact, and we also assume, greater communication, would show greater concordance.

The results confirm these expectations. As shown in Table 11-20, friends whose choice is reciprocated have more influence upon each other than unreciprocated pairs, as shown by the larger tau-beta values. Alexander and Campbell (1964) found that reciprocity of choice increased the similarity in college plans of high school seniors. Similarly, friends whom the adolescent sees frequently out of school are more influential than those he sees more rarely (Table 11-21). And school friends who are also the adolescent's very best friend overall, out as well as in school, are more influential than those school friends who are not the adolescent's best overall friend (Table 11-22) with the puzzling exception of the Danish boys. Among them, higher concordance with school friend is observed when that friend is not the best friend overall. We have no explanation for this anomolous result.

TABLE 11-19

Concordance on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and Mother by Adolescent's Emphasis on Education as Best Way to Get Ahead, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

	Mother's Aspirations							
	UNITED STATES				DENMARK			
	High School		College		Secondary Vocational		University[1]	
	Adolescent Attitude				Adolescent Attitude			
Educational Plans	Educ.	Not educ.	Educ.	Not educ.	Educ.	Not educ.	Educ.	Not educ.
High School (secondary, vocational)	40	83	7	32	78	90	12	31
College (university)	60	17	93	68	22	10	88	69
Total N	(15)	(152)	(121)	(450)	(60)	(290)	(90)	(131)

Pass 204/09A-09B

	United States	Denmark
Weighted effect parameter of Mother's plans	.491**	.611**
" " " " attitude	.276**	.157**

**p <.01

[1] Includes: gymnasium, teacher college and university.

TABLE 11-20

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and his Best-School-Friend by Reciprocity of Friendship Choice, by Sex in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Concordance With Best-School-Friend	Reciprocity of Choice			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Reci-procal	Not Recip.	Reci-procal	Not Recip.
Total Sample	.390*	.346*	.355*	.197*
Total N	(438)	(622)	(326)	(262)
Boys	.345*	.257*	.372*	.209*
Total N	(161)	(328)	(157)	(170)
Girls	.410*	.389*	.326*	.175
Total N	(277)	(294)	(169)	(92)

Pass 213/U.S./121;221/Den./32 .

* As measured by tau-beta. Significant at .001, except when no asterisk.

TABLE 11-21

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and his Best-School-Friend by Frequency of Contact out of School, in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Concordance With Best Friend in	Adolescent Sees Friends Out of School					
	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
	More than once a week	Once a week-month	never	More than once a week	Once a week-month	never
Total Sample	.369*	.350*	.316*	.337*	.229*	.085
Total N	(732)	(213)	(114)	(345)	(179)	(54)
Boys	.305*	.274*	.181	.327*	.281*	.054
Total N	(347)	(96)	(45)	(193)	(99)	(27)
Girls	.399*	.384*	.342*	.344*	.163	.141
Total N	(385)	(117)	(68)	(152)	(80)	(27)

Pass 214/U.S./09, 09S, 221/Den./31, 31/S

* As measured by tau-beta. Significant at .001, except when no asterisk.

We refined the degrees of friendship further by taking into account simultaneously whether the choice was reciprocated and the friend in school was the best friend overall. The cross-tabulation of these two variables gave rise to a four-category classification of intimacy of friendship of the adolescent mentioned as "best friend in school." The very best friend, in terms of this classification, is the best friend overall whose choice is reciprocated. The least intimate friend is the school friend who is not the best friend overall and whose choice is not reciprocated. We also assumed that the peer who was nominated as best friend overall but did not reciprocate the choice was more important to the adolescent than the peer who did reciprocate but whom he did not consider to be his very best friend overall. Again, with the exception of the Danish boys, the results confirm these assumptions. We examined concordance between adolescents and their best-school-friend separately for each of these degrees of friendship. Except for the Danish boys, concordance on educational plans with reciprocated best friends overall is higher than for any other category of friendships (see Table 11-23). However, even these high levels of concordance with very best friend are not as high as they are for mother. In the United States, concordance with reciprocated very best friend is .423 as compared to .504 for the mother; in Denmark, the tau-betas are .391 and .475, respectively.

Some sex and cross-cultural differences also emerge from the findings presented in Tables 11-20, 11-21, 11-22 and 11-23. In the United States, whether the best friend is the best friend overall is more important for concordance than whether or not the choice is reciprocated. In Denmark, the reverse is true for boys (Table 11-23). In the United States, boys are more sensitive to variations in the intimacy of the friendship than girls. The American boy's susceptibility to his friend's influence, more than the girls, varies according to whether the friendship choice is reciprocated (Table 11-20), or whether visiting outside of school occurs frequently (Table 11-21). The most important factors for American girls is whether or not the best friend in school is also the best friend overall (Table 11-22). Similarly, Danish adolescents are more sensitive in general than American adolescents to the reciprocity of the choice and the frequency of meetings. The variable for best friend overall is very important for Danish girls. However, among the Danish boys, there is the inexplicable reversal and concordance with best-school-friend is actually higher when he is not the best friend overall.

Thus, variables which characterize fairly specifically the intensity of the friendship interactions among peers influence the degree of concordance on educational goals among adolescents. However, as was true of concordance with mother, items indicative of the adolescent's subjective orientation to peers show no such effect. We examined concordance on plans between adolescent and school friend according to the adolescent's score on the index of peer orientation and his report of whether he respected more his mother's or his best friend's opinions. These variables had no effect on concordance. (Data not presented.)

TABLE 11-22

Concordance* on Educational Plans between Adolescent and his Best-School-Friend by Whether Friend is Best Friend overall in the United States and Denmark (Dyads)

Concordance on Educational Plans	Best-School-Friend Is Best Friend Overall			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Total Sample	.406*	.291*	.300*	.250*
Total N	(710)	(338)	(357)	(221)
Boys	.330*	.212*	.241*	.352*
Total N	(314)	(168)	(185)	(135)
Girls	.427*	.344*	.377*	.042
Total N	(396)	(191)	(172)	(86)

Pass 221/33,33S

* As measured by tau-beta. Significant at .001, except when no asterisk.

TABLE 11-23

Concordance* on Educational Plans Between Adolescent and Best-School-Friend, by Intensity of Friendship in the United States and Denmark

	Best-School-Friend is			
	Best Friend Overall		NOT Best Friend Overall	
	Choice is Reciprocated	Choice NOT Reciprocated	Choice is Reciprocated	Choice NOT Reciprocated
UNITED STATES				
Total sample	.423***	.384***	.252**	.300***
Total N	(335)	(375)	(98)	(240)
Boys	.371***	.293***	.235	.202**
Total N	(112)	(202)	(47)	(121)
Girls	.447***	.402***	.246*	.378***
Total N	(223)	(173)	(51)	(119)
DENMARK				
Total sample	.391***	.192**	.295***	.212**
Total N	(212)	(145)	(108)	(113)
Boys	.332***	.157	.415***	.297**
Total N	(93)	(92)	(61)	(74)
Girls	.435***	.281*	.069	.008
Total N	(119)	(53)	(47)	(39)

Pass 230/27,28

* As measured by tau-beta. *p $<$.05, **p $<$.01, ***p $<$.001

The findings presented in this chapter together with those in Chapter 6 suggest certain important differences in the meaning of adolescent friendships in the United States and Denmark. It looks as if the Danes have one very good friend, while the Americans have a larger circle of close friends, without any one of them being more significant than the other to any great extent. Several findings support and, in fact, suggest this conclusion to us: the nature of interactions between friends in the United States and Denmark (Chapter 6), the characteristics of friendship pairs (discussed in Chapter 6) and the types of friends' influences (discussed in the present chapter). These findings all suggest that the Danish adolescent differentiates more than the American between the adolescent he defines as his very best friend and all other friends. When asked how frequently they see their 3 best-school-friends out of school, Danes show a greater disparity than the Americans in the frequency with which second and third friends are seen as compared to the one listed as first in closeness (Chapter 6). Similarly, in Denmark, reciprocity of friendship choice increases the similarity between friends in background characteristics, leisure-time activities and interests (Chapter 6), and concordance on values (Chapter 10) and goals (Chapter 11) to a greater extent than in the United States. The Americans' susceptibility to their friends' influence is not as sensitive as the Danes as to whether or not the friendship choice is reciprocated.

By a number of criteria, Americans appear to have a larger circle of significant friends than the Danes.

VI. Summary and Conclusion:

The general problem with which this chapter has been concerned is that of the competing influences of peers and family on the educational plans of adolescents in the United States and Denmark.

Five specific questions were investigated:

(1) The distribution of educational plans of adolescents and of the mothers' educational aspirations for their children in the United States and Denmark.

(2) The relative concordance on educational plans between the adolescent and his mother and the adolescent and his best-school-friend.

(3) The influence of common external social conditions on concordance.

(4) and (5) Interpersonal factors which increase the influences of mother and best-school-friend upon the adolescent.

In the United States, mothers have higher educational aspirations for their children than the children themselves have. In Denmark, the patterns of aspiration are somewhat reversed. The children are more ambitious than their parents: fewer are willing to stop with secondary school training and more desire at least vocational training beyond secondary school. About equal proportions of Danish adolescents and mothers aspire for the adolescent to go on to the higher academic levels of education.

In the apparently more industrialized society represented by the United States, parents have higher aspirations for the children than the children themselves, even though the educational level rises with each generation. In the more traditional society represented by Denmark, the children are the standard-bearers of modernity, and their aspirations for themselves are greater than are their mothers' aspirations for them. A greater emphasis on educational attainment among the younger generation than among the older may be an important condition promoting modernization. This interpretation of the data naturally involves problems beyond those we can study. We must also consider that we are interpreting differences between two countries both of which, by world standards, are highly-developed modern societies.

The most striking findings concern the relative levels of concordance on these plans with mothers and with best-school-friends. Concordance on educational plan is much higher than that previously observed in relation to values. Furthermore, in both countries, concordance with mother is much higher than concordance with the school friend, even when that friend is the adolescent's very best friend overall. Similar findings are obtained for concordance on occupational aspirations and occupational expectations.

While levels of concordance with mother are almost identical in both countries, concordance with best-school-friend is higher in the United States than in Denmark. As a result, the overall effect of mother influence on the adolescent's educational goals is greater in Denmark than in the United States.

Finally, in both countries, also, concordance with mother on educational plans is higher among girls than among boys, a finding which replicates the most consistent finding reported by other studies on the transmission of values from parent to child. On the other hand, concordance with best friend is higher among girls than boys in the United States and higher among boys than girls in Denmark.

Controlling for factors, such as social class or program in school, suggests that the influences of mother and friend, especially that of the mother, is intrinsic to the interaction itself and not the common situation in which the members of the pair find themselves. However, interpersonal factors characterizing mother and child could not be shown to affect levels of concordance. Family patterns of interaction are found to have no effect in Denmark and very little effect in the United States. There is a very small tendency for democratic maternal authority to lead to somewhat higher concordance between

American mother and adolescent. Parental feeling about college is a much more powerful variable on concordance on college plans than type of parental power. The mother's encouragement and the discussion of educational plans between the adolescent and his parents increase concordance on college plans between mother and child.

By contrast, characteristics of the interactions with best-school-friend affect the levels of concordance on educational plans. In both countries, reciprocity of choice and frequent out-of-school contacts with the adolescent's best-school-friend, and having the best-school-friend as best friend overall, except among Danish boys, increase concordance on plans. These factors created more variations in concordance in Denmark than in the United States. Thus, cultural difference, along with differences in informal contacts with secondary friends reported in Chapter 6, suggested that the Danes are most sensitive to the influence of one very best friend, while the Americans operate within a larger circle of important friendships.

The findings reported in this chapter have relevance for several current controversies about sources of influences on adolescent's educational plans, about the separateness of adolescents and adults, and about the way in which high schools influence the students within them. The design of the study provides an unusual opportunity to answer these questions since we could match the adolescent with his mother and his best-school-friend and we had direct indicators of the educational aspirations of each of these three individuals.

First, we can state without doubt that in both the United States and Denmark parental desires for their children are more important determinants of the child's educational plans than socioeconomic status. This supports a thesis which has been developed with increasing frequency since Kahl's original paper (Kahl, 1953; McDill and Coleman, 1965). Of course, we cannot ascertain the extent to which these aspirations will be translated into reality and the extent of the influence of the mother on actual college attendance. Results from American studies which have correlated educational plans with actual college attendance suggest that the correlation is high. Adolescents who have plans to go on to college while in high school are more likely to go on to college than high school students who do not have such plans (Haller, 1958, Haller and Butterworth, 1960). There is strong reason to believe that the mother's influence would thus also extend to actual college attendance. Furthermore, it would appear that actual college attendance is more strongly determined by the family social class factors than by the child's educational aspirations (Cutright, 1960). If this is indeed so, the parental effects we have demonstrated in this study thus represent a minimum rather than a maximum possible influence on the future educational behavior of the adolescent.

Second, in both countries, the influence of mother is about twice as great as that of best-school-friend. The assumption is commonly made that peers provide a deterrent to intellectual development and educational aspirations during adolescence (Coleman, 1961; Gordon, 1957; Braham, 1965). Our own data confirm that the climate of American high schools does not appear to reward intellectual achievement. But the adolescent's peers have much less influence than the adolescent's parents when it comes to future educational goals. On this last point, the findings of a rarely quoted study by Riley, Riley and Moore (1961) are quite relevant. These investigators did not study educational goals, but the attitudes of high school students on attributes and skills believed to be of crucial concern to adolescents as they were expressed in twenty vignettes. The self-expectations which adolescents had for themselves as adults were very close to the adolescents' perceptions of their parents' current expectations. These authors believe that adolescents distinguish between values which are relevant to their current peer relationship and those which are relevant to the roles they will have to play in the future as adults. The present results on educational goals, when taken in conjunction with those on values presented in the preceding chapter, suggest that one cannot speak of separate adolescent cultures or of general peer versus parental influences. One must specify the particular content area under discussion. For certain values or certain areas, peers may be more influential than parents. For other issues, the reverse may be true. Even the cross-cultural differences observed in this study do not follow a consistent pattern across different areas. Thus, with respect to general values, discussed in the preceding chapter, concordance with best friend was slightly higher in Denmark than in the United States. With respect to educational goals, discussed in the present chapter, concordance with peers is higher in the United States than in Denmark. As Jahoda and Warren (1965) stress in their review,

> The major culture of which they (youth) are part is transmitted by family, school and community in which they mix with other age groups to varying extent. It follows that such a group in society can usefully be studied from the point of view of what they have in common as well as from the point of view of what they share with the major culture (p. 143).

It was easier to show the effect of different factors on goals than on values. Thus, we observed much higher levels of concordance with mother and with best friend on educational goals than on the educational values discussed in the preceding chapter. Similarly, Furstenberg (1967) observed the highest degree of concordance among the seven values he studied on the index of mobility aspirations which had educational goals as one of its components. In a different type of analysis, Boyle (1966) and McDill, Meyers and Risgby (1966) find that school climates are much more effective on adolescents' educational goals than on their educational values (McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1966, p. IV-7). Obviously, respondents find it easier to answer questions about specific behaviors and issues than about abstract issues such as values. In this connection, we may recall that we observed higher concordance between mother and child on questions which dealt with the demographic characteristics of the family than on questions about patterns of interaction between the adolescent and his parents.

The particular interrelations of school, family and peer influences will be investigated in the following chapter. The data presented here document strikingly that, while both parents and peers have an effect on the adolescent's future educational goals, in no circumstance is the influence of the immediate peer group greater than that of the family.

Chapter 12

Family, School and Peer Influences on Educational Plans

We have established that in both the United States and Denmark, parents and school friends influence the adolescent's educational plans, parents more than peers. How do these patterns of influence converge within the school and what is the role that is played by the school proper in both countries, independently of the adolescent's immediate friends within the school?

In recent years, there has been a change of emphasis in the United States in assumptions about the nature of school influences. One group of investigators assumes that there is a pervasive influence of school climates such that they affect every student within the school. In particular, levels of educational aspirations are assumed to be determined by the socioeconomic backgrounds of the students in the school. The greater the proportion of middle-class children, the greater the proportion of children with college plans (Boyle, 1966; Coleman, 1961, 1966; Michael, 1966; Ramsøy, 1962; Turner, 1964; Wilson, 1959). More recently, Alexander and Campbell (1964), Campbell and Alexander (1965) and McDill, Meyers and Rigsby (1966) argue that students are not influenced by the school as a whole, but by the values and attitudes of immediate associates in the school. Campbell and Alexander hypothesize a two-step model of influence involving,

> First, social-psychological theory, which deals with the individual's response to a given social situation, and, second, theory at the structural level, which deals with the determination of that given social situation by characteristics of the larger social system...the actor responds to that segment of the total system which, for him, is perceptually important and salient, rarely does he (inter-) act with reference to the system as a whole. (1965, p. 284.)

Thus, Campbell and Alexander would explain Wilson's well-known finding of an

> association between the average status of a school and the educational aspirations of its students in terms of the intervening variable of interpersonal influence of an individual's friends. (Campbell and Alexander, 1965, p. 286.)

High-status schools provide a particular structural situation in which a large number of high-status friends are available to the student.

Campbell and Alexander's own findings confirm their hypothesis. They use socioeconomic status of the adolescent's friend as an indirect indicator of the friend's educational influence. When they control the socioeconomic status of the adolescent's friends, the original relationship between school status and student's educational plans disappears. However, when the reverse statistical procedure is carried out and school status is held constant, the relationship between college plans and friend's status persists (1965, p. 288). Similar findings were subsequently obtained and similar explanations invoked by McDill, Meyers and Rigsby. Climate effects of schools on the educational plans of students in their sample of 20 schools were reduced when they controlled for the educational influence of immediate friends (as measured by the students' report of how many of their close friends were attending college). McDill, Meyers and Rigsby state:

> This finding lends strong support to Campbell and Alexander's inference that the contextual effects of the global environment of the school on students' college plans are mediated or interpreted by the interveing influences of significant others in their immediate environment (p. V-6)...the findings ...lead to a conception of the student bodies of high schools in terms of a network of cliques or friendship groups, each composed of members who are attracted to the group because of common social backgrounds, interests and values, and similar orientations toward academic achievement. (p. V-18.)

Rhodes _et al_. (1965) came to a similar interpretation when they reviewed a number of studies in this area.

> Two assumptions are explicit in the Wilson study and implicit in other, similar studies: (1) attitudes and values are transmitted to the individual by his peer group; and (2) the socioeconomic-status composition of peer group within a school reflects the SES composition of the whole school. (p. 682.)

The question is not only how much effect the school has on students beyond the influence of the students' friends, but also how much influence the school has beyond that of the family. Boyle (1966) pointed out that results of different investigators were inconsistent on this point. He used Coleman's unweighted effect parameter to standardize and compare the results from different studies. He concluded that Wilson's (1959) results would suggest that the school has a slightly larger effect than the family occupational background; that Ramsøy's (1962) findings, on the other hand, would suggest that the school is much less important than family background, while Turner's (1954) data would indicate that the school is only slightly less important than family background.[1] Boyle would reconcile these divergent findings by taking into account the urban setting of the school. His thesis is that the effect of high school status appears only in metropolitan areas and this because metropolitan schools have students with high scholastic ability.

Two parallel questions will be explored in this chapter:

1. Do students respond to a pervasive influence of the school as a whole or to the specific influence of their immediate friends within the school?

2. Does the school have any influence on educational plans beyond the influence of the student's family?

I. School Status and Educational Aspirations:

In order to assess the global influence of school we investigated the relationship between school status and adolescents' educational aspirations. Following the procedure used by previous investigators, the sample schools in each country were classified into different status categories on the basis of the social class distribution of the student bodies.[2] Each of the three American schools was classified in a different category; the 12 Danish schools were grouped into four categories.

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[1] Turner himself concludes from his data that school status (which he simultaneously uses as an indicator of neighborhood influence) "probably has about as much effect as the level of individual family background in determining how high the child's ambition will be" (1964, p. 65). Sewell, however, in a review of Turner's book attributes to the author a very different conclusion, namely, that "when the student's measured intelligence and socioeconomic background are held constant the independent contribution of school and neighborhood contexts is slight. In general, the role of the school and neighborhood contexts seems to be to accentuate somewhat the major forms of ambition which are already related to family background and measured intelligence. This finding... again indicates the need for caution in claims about the importance of contextual variables" (Sewell, 1966, pp. 235-236).

[2] Thus, when we speak of "school" influence, we really mean school influence as represented by the distribution of fathers' occupations among the student bodies. In turn, we assume that this variable summarizes many important characteristics of schools, and in particular, the educational climate of the school.

7

The classification of schools and the proportion of middle-class students in each category appear in Table 12-1.

The class distributions are comparable in corresponding school status categories in both countries. But no school was available in the American sample that could match the highest-status Danish school with 74% of its student body classified as middle class.

Like other investigators (Boyle, 1966; Coleman, 1961, 1966; Ramsøy, 1962; Turner, 1964; Wilson, 1959) we find that, with family social-class background controlled, the college plans of adolescents are influenced by the socioeconomic status of the school they attend. The higher the school status, the larger the proportion of students, at each socioeconomic level, who are planning to continue their education (see Table 12-2). Thus, 84% of the middle-class students in the highest-status American school plan to go on to college as contrasted to only 53% of the middle-class students in the lowest American status school. The percentages among lower-class students range from 66% to 50%.

Variations in educational aspirations by school status appear to be larger in the United States than in Denmark, especially among middle-class students. The data in Table 12-2 show that, in Denmark, the proportion of middle-class students who plan to go on to some form of higher academic education does not vary as greatly and as consistently across the different categories of school status as in the United States and as among Danish lower-class students. Weighted effect parameters indicate that school effects are of similar magnitude in both countries. However, in Denmark, social class has a greater effect than school status on the students' plans, while the reverse is true in the United States. Thus, even though Danish schools have a stronger intellectual orientation than the American schools, schools have approximately the same influence overall on students' future educational plans in Denmark than in the United States.

II. School Status and Types of Interpersonal Relations:

Campbell and Alexander (1965) argue that global school influences represent the influences of the adolescent's immediate school peers. Assuming simply that friendship choices are randomly distributed within a school, in a middle-class school adolescents are more likely to associate with other middle-class adolescents and are, therefore, more likely to be influenced by other college-going adolescents. Thus, according to Campbell and Alexander the school with a large middle-class student population presents the structural condition that leads to a particular social-psychological process, the college-going influence of one adolescent upon his friend. Such an interpretation requires that the initial association between school and adolescent aspirations disappears when best friend's influence is held constant, as it indeed does in Campbell and Alexander's study.

TABLE 12-1

Proportion of Middle-Class Students by School Status, in the United States and Denmark

	UNITED STATES			DENMARK		
School Socioeconomic Status	School I.D.	%	Total N	School I.D.	%	Total N
High	--	--	--	51	74	(113)
Medium High	31	51	(233)	56,59	50	(290)
Medium	30	32	(99)	54,55,58,60	38	(355)
Low	32	16	(830)	50,52,53,57, 60	22	(229)

Pass 226/01

Schools and students classified according to mother's report of father's occupation

TABLE 12-2

Adolescent's Educational Aspirations by Social-Class Background and School Status, in the United States and Denmark

Percent of Adolescents with Plans for Higher Education	School Status and Social-Class Background							
	High		Medium High		Medium		Low	
	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
UNITED STATES	--	--	84	66	75	60	53	50
Total N	--	--	(90)	(92)	(24)	(45)	(118)	(430)
DENMARK	48	36	55	34	42	19	39	15
Total N	(58)	(14)	(104)	(68)	(93)	(102)	(39)	(54)

Pass 222/US/03; 222/DEN/04

	U.S.	DENMARK
Weighted effect of social class background	.091*	.216**
" " " school status	.148*	.125

*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

We also observe in our sample the association between school status and the types of interpersonal contacts that adolescents establish among themselves. The higher the average social-class composition of a school, the larger the proportion of adolescents of all social-class backgrounds who have middle-class friends (see Table 12-3). In both countries, the tendency to choose friends of a particular social class is determined more by the socioeconomic characteristics of students whithin the school than by the student's own social status. Thus, 62% of American middle-class children associate with other middle-class children in the highest-status school as compared to only 20% in the lowest-status school. Comparable percentages in Denmark are 79% and 35% (Table 12-3). (There is no significant within-school association between friends' social-class background except in the highest-status American school.)

Furthermore, at each social-class level, the higher the social-class background of the adolescent's best friend, the more likely is he to plan to continue his education (see Table 12-4). This finding confirms findings obtained by Simpson (1962) and Alexander and Campbell (1965). Rearranging the data in Table 12-4, one notes that adolescents with high educational aspirations are more likely to have middle-class friends (Table 12-5). Since these are not longitudinal data, one cannot establish a definite causal linkage among these variables. Mobile adolescents, especially in the United States, may purposely seek out high-status peers (Turner, 1964) or chance associations with other adolescents of different social classes may lead to different educational aspirations.

Whatever the processes at work, it is clear that in Denmark personal background variables are more important than outside influences in determining the adolescent's future goals. We established in the preceding chapter that Danes are not as responsive as Americans to their friends' educational influences. We see now that there is less class-based interpersonal association within the school. Whether this is cause or consequence cannot be determined.

III. School, Peer and Family Influences:

Especially in the United States, school influence can be explained in part by the fact that peers influence each other's educational plans and that different schools differentially expose adolescents to other adolescents of high socioeconomic status.

However, contrary to Campbell and Alexander's findings, our data do not support the conclusion that school effects are explained entirely by friend's influences. As we mentioned earlier, Campbell and Alexander used friend's socioeconomic status as an indirect indicator of friend's educational influence. In their study the relationship between school status and educational plans disappeared when friend's status was held constant.

TABLE 12-3

Percent of Adolescents with Middle-Class Friends by Social-Class Background and School Status, in the United States and Denmark

Percent of Adolescents with Middle-Class Friends	School Status and Social-Class Background							
	High		Medium High		Medium		Low	
	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
UNITED STATES	--	--	62	46	32	24	20	20
Total N	--	--	(188)	(165)	(41)	(90)	(217)	(860)
Tau-beta			.157*		.076		-.003	
DENMARK	79	76	57	54	42	36	35	30
Total N	(62)	(16)	(135)	(93)	(121)	(122)	(46)	(70)
Tau-beta	.092		.038		.130		.102	

Pass 226/01; 223/01

* $p < .05$

TABLE 12-4

Percent of Adolescents with Plans for Higher Education by Social-Class Background and Best-School-Friend's Social Class, in the United States and Denmark

Percent of Adolescents with Plans for Higher Education	Social Class of Adolescent and his Best Friend			
	Middle Class		Lower Class	
	Friend Middle	Friend Low	Friend Middle	Friend Low
UNITED STATES	81	61	63	52
Total N	(85)	(112)	(119)	(332)
DENMARK	49	41	28	21
Total N	(142)	(85)	(96)	(96)

Pass 228/01

	U.S.	DENMARK
Weighted effect of own social background	.145**	.208**
" " " friend's social "	.123**	.077

TABLE 12-5

Social Status of Friends According to Adolescent's Educational Plans and Social Class, in the United States and Denmark

	Proportion with Middle-Class Friends			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	%	N	%	N
Middle Class				
College plans[1]	50	(137)	67	(105)
Non-college plans	27	(60)	59	(122)
Lower Class				
College plans	30	(247)	57	(47)
Non-college plans	21	(204)	48	(145)

Pass 228/01

[1] In Denmark = gymnasium, teacher's college and university

However, in our sample, the original association between school status and adolescent's plans is not reduced when friend's actual educational plans are controlled for (see Table 12-6). Especially in the United States, the measures of association between adolescent's plans and school status are almost as high when friend's plans are controlled for as when they are not. Thus, the original association of .209 has become .190 among adolescents whose friends plan to go to high school and .196 among those whose friends plan to go on to college. The measures of association are still high and significant enough to reject the hypothesis that school influence can be explained entirely by the influence of the adolescent's immediate circle of friends within the school.

Far from supporting the interpretation that effects result from school friends' influences, our own data suggest that school influences in both countries are explained in great part by the home influence of the students attending particular schools. As shown in Table 12-6, in both countries the original association between student's plans and school status is very much reduced when parent's aspirations are controlled for. In the United States, it has decreased from .209 to -.007 or .096, depending upon the nature of the mother's plans. Parental plans explain much of the effect attributed to the school, while the same is not true of friend's plans. When parental aspirations are held constant, school influence has almost vanished entirely in the United States. It is very much reduced in Denmark among children whose parents have high educational ambitions for their children, but still significant among students whose parents do not want them to continue their education. These students' educational aspirations are influenced by the status of the school they attend. The higher the status, the greater the proportion with high educational aspirations. Thus, among Danish children whose parents want them to stop their education with secondary school or vocational training 26% intend to go on to higher academic training when they attend a high-status school as compared to only 9% when they attend a low-status school. On the other hand, the aspirations of Danish children whose parents want them to continue their education are not depressed when they attend a low-status school. Seventy-five percent intend to pursue their education. Thus, in Denmark, the school has an influence on students' plans beyond that of the parents only when parents have low aspirations. But in no school are the proportions of these children with college plans as high as among those whose parents have college ambitions for them. The school influence is always much smaller than that of the home. Even in the highest-status school the proportion of adolescents with plans for higher education when their parents do not want them to continue is only a third (25%) of what it is (75%) when parents would like their children to continue their education.

Weighted effect parameters summarize these trends very clearly (see Table 12-7). School status has a lower effect when parental plans

TABLE 12-6

Association* Between Adolescent Educational Plans and Socio-Economic Status of School, When Controlled by Mother's or Best-School-Friend's Plans, in the United States and Denmark (Triads)

Association between School and Plans	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Tau-beta	N	Tau-beta	N
Original Association	.209*	(796)	.174*	(617)
Controlled for best friend's plans				
High school	.190*	(224)	.119*	(247)
College	.196*	(307)	.154	(131)
Controlled for mother's plans				
High school	-.007	(189)	.106*	(357)
College	.096	(599)	.026	(223)

Pass 226/03,04,07,10

*As measured by tau-beta. $p < .05$

TABLE 12-7

Weighted Effect Parameters of School Status, Friends' Plans and Parents' Plans on Adolescents' Educational Plans

	UNITED STATES	DENMARK
When School and Friends' Plans Controlled		
Effect of friends' plans	.381**	.335**
Effect of school status	.138*	.133
When School and Parents' Plans Controlled		
Effect of parents' plans	.508**	.634**
Effect of school status	.056	.058

Based on Pass 226/04,07

*p $<$ .05; ** p $<$ .01

are controlled for than when friends' plans are controlled for. In fact, when parents' plans are controlled, school effect is very low: .056 in the United States and .058 in Denmark.

Table 12-8 summarizes the respective effects of parents' plans, peers and schools on adolescents' plans, when all three variables are controlled simultaneously. The effect of school, as indexed by the social-class distribution of the student body has by far the smallest effect. Parents' plans are the most important. As we emphasized in Chapter 11, in Denmark, parents are relatively more important than in the United States.

IV. Conclusion and Discussion:

On the basis of these data, we would conclude that school influence, as represented by its social-class status, is much smaller than that of the student's family and can be explained by the fact that schools of differing status recruit the children of families who hold different educational goals for their children. These children, in turn, tend to associate with adolescents who have congruent college plans. Children whose parents want them to go on to college tend to associate with college-going friends, while the reverse is true for those adolescents whose parents do not have college aspirations for them. This trend appears in each type of school (see Table 12-9). School has relatively less influence in Denmark than in the United States.

Thus, the data in this chapter extend the conclusion of the previous chapter that the most important educational influence is that of the family. Whatever influence is attributed to the school results from the family. The school does not have much influence besides that which can be directly attributable to the fact that a particular school attracts students from certain social backgrounds who in turn have more opportunities to associate with other adolescents of similar background. The school reinforces the influence of family background by creating a situation in which adolescents associate with like-background peers. Data from other investigators suggest that, in turn, patterns of school segregation reflect the patterns of residential segregation by occupation in the larger community (Rhodes *et al.*, 1965; Wilson, 1959).

These general processes occur in the United States and Denmark in the context of certain cross-cultural differences. The most important are the relatively smaller influence of school and peers and the greater influence of family in Denmark than in the United States. These differences can perhaps be related to the existence of different patterns of social mobility existing in the two countries. Turner (1964) introduced the distinction between contest and sponsored mobility in comparing the American and British educational systems. In his analysis, he characterizes the United States as a system of contest mobility in which "elite status is the prize in an open contest, with every

TABLE 12-8

Weighted Effect Parameters of School Status, Friends' Plans and Parents' Plans, When all Three are Controlled, on Adolescents' Educational Plans

	UNITED STATES	DENMARK
When School Friends' and Parents' Plans Controlled		
Effect of school status	.055	.060
Effect of friends' plans	.263**	.166**
Effect of parents' plans	.491**	.566**

Based on Pass 226/04,07

** $p < .01$

TABLE 12-9

Percent of Adolescents with Friends Planning a Higher Education by Parental Aspirations and School Status, in the United States and Denmark

	School Status and Parental Educational Aspirations[1]							
	High Status		Medium High		Medium		Low	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
UNITED STATES	--	--	(1)	73	50	74	27	60
Total N	--	--	(4)	(146)	(10)	(46)	(112)	(209)
DENMARK	40	62	29	59	17	53	20	39
Total N	(15)	(16)	(48)	(64)	(101)	(38)	(49)	(23)

Pass 226/06

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[1] Parental educational aspirations:

United States low = high school
high = two year college and over

Denmark low = secondary school, vocational training
high = gymnasium, teacher's college, university

effort made to keep lagging contestants in the race until the climax" (p. 855). By contrast, he describes the norm in England as that of sponsored mobility which "involves controlled selection in which the elite or their agents choose recruits early and carefully induct them into elite status" (p. 855). Turner goes on to identify the consequences which these different norms have for the educational system: contest mobility requires a comprehensive secondary school system in contrast to segregated schooling under sponsored mobility; an emphasis on ambition; a high value on a practical rather than a liberal education, a strong emphasis on "social training" and involvement with peers.

The characteristics of the American system described by Turner and the contrast he establishes with Great Britain apply in some measure to our respective samples of American and Danish schools. From a structural point of view the educational systems in the two countries are more similar than the American and the English since, with the educational act of 1958, Denmark attempted to do away with the selective, segregated secondary schooling and to establish a comprehensive system. However, in several other respects the analysis of the British system, as contrasted to the American, apply also to Denmark. Thus, in support of Turner's assumption that the time of final career decision occurs later in contest than in sponsored mobility, we find that among adolescents with high educational goals, the Americans have made their decision at a later date than the Danes. Thus, only 28% report that they made their decision before they entered high school as compared to 45% of the Danes.

Furthermore, we find that the American adolescents and adults in our sample emphasize the norm of ambition more strongly than the Danes. Indeed, we noted earlier that Americans emphasize hard work as the best way to get ahead while the Danes stress a pleasant personality (see Chapter 10).

The greater appreciation of the contents of education in their own right under sponsored mobility is well exemplified by the greater intellectual and academic orientation of the Danish schools as compared to the American (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, we found in both countries that both parents and children value most the vocational training provided by higher education (Table 10-1).

Finally, the differential emphasis on peer society within American and Danish schools further support Turner's thesis that contest mobility requires training in a wide range of social contacts.

While the parallel between Britain and Denmark cannot be drawn with complete consistency, enough similarities exist to make the Danish educational system understood as one consonant with a larger society which emphasizes sponsored, rather than contest, mobility.

Chapter 13

Summary and Conclusions

This study examines the social interactions of adolescents with their parents and their peers (and the relative influence upon adolescents of these two groups) in two different societies, the United States and Denmark. We here restate our findings and suggest how they fit together, attempting to develop a framework which may contribute to a resolution of the controversy regarding the relationship between an adolescent subculture and the culture of the larger society. This discussion will deal primarily with the nature of adolescent life in American society, using the data from Denmark as a basis for comparison.

Chapter 1 reviewed the concept of adolescent subculture from (1) its early use in pointing to the distance between the concerns of teachers and those of students, (2) through its use, especially by Parsons, as a vehicle for describing the outlook of young people, (3) to the present, when its validity, and even its meaning, are matters of controversy. Most investigators have agreed that adolescent subcultures indeed do exist as distinct entities and affect adolescents in powerful and diverse ways. Our findings are compatible with this assessment.

In recent years, some investigators have described the adolescent subculture as opposed to the values of the larger society and aimed at the subversion of these values among young people; other investigators have asserted that the adolescent subculture is a more limited phenomenon, developing only in the areas which are irrelevant to the larger society. Our own position, on the basis of our work, is more nearly compatible with the second of these alternatives. We, perhaps, go even farther; we believe our data support the conclusion that adolescents, far from developing a subculture in opposition to that of the larger society--a "contra-culture"--express the values of the larger society in relation to the issues and in consonance with the structure presented to them by that society.

We take particular exception to what we have called in Chapter 1 the "hydraulic" view taken by many investigators regarding the relative influence of peers and adults, especially parents, which assumes that the greater the influence of the one, the less the influence of the other. Our data lead to another view: that, in critical areas, interactions with peers support, express, and specify for the peer context the values of parents and other adults, and that the adolescent subculture is coordinated with, and in fact is, an expression of the culture of the larger society. The hydraulic theory would lead us to expect that, in important areas of behavior and attitude, adolescents will show high concordance with parents and low concordance with peers, or *vice versa*. Our conclusion, in contrast, requires that in areas of importance adolescents display high concordance with both parents *and* peers, or low concordance with both.

The order in which we review our findings in this chapter differs somewhat from the order in which they have been presented earlier in the report. Here we present them in the order demanded by the task of developing an integrative framework. First, we review our comparative findings on the values of parents and adolescents in the United States and Denmark. We next review our data on family structures and suggest how differences between American and Danish families may be related to differences between American and Danish values. We then turn to the schools and show how here, too, differences in structure and functioning may be coordinated to differences in values in each country, arguing in this way that American values express themselves both in the American family in the form of parental practices and directives, and also in the high school subculture. Finally, we present a specific instance of our thesis: in one area of critical importance in American life, namely, educational plans, adolescents display high concordance with both their mothers and peers. Our general position, then, is that the adolescent subculture is understood best, not as a contra-culture warring with the larger society for hegemony over adolescent outlooks, but rather as an expression of the culture of the larger society in the particular situation of the adolescent.

I. Values in the United States and Denmark:

In our items relating to values (Table 10-1, 2) we find, with the exception of a single area, a good deal of difference between Americans and Danes, as a whole, and rather little difference between adolescents and their parents within either society. This finding in itself suggests that each society develops in its members, both adolescent and adult, a common perspective.

Differences between American and Danish responses to specific value items seem associated with two underlying thematic differences. The first is the greater importance in America of achievement: of getting somewhere, establishing oneself, and in this way gaining the respect or recognition of the community. What seems central here is a deep motivating concern for the regard of others, and an associated belief that it best can be won through achievement. The second thematic difference between American and Danish outlooks is in the greater emphasis placed by Americans on the responsibility of youth to their families. The specific value items expressing this theme are: loyalty to the family, respect for parents, and doing things with the family. As we shall suggest in our interpretation of materials dealing with family structure, the themes of achievement and family responsibility are mutually supportive. The family uses its authority to direct the adolescent toward the end of establishing himself and the adolescent, in turn, must achieve well, in part because his performance will reflect on his family.

The American emphasis on achievement is displayed in the data by much larger percentages among American parents and adolescents than among Danish parents and adolescents giving high importance to: being a leader in activities; earning money; having a good reputation. Furthermore, the majority of American parents and adolescents believe that the best way to get ahead in life is to work hard, a belief maintained only by a very small minority of Danes who, in contrast, emphasize a pleasant personality as the best way to get ahead in life. Comparing the two, we might say that Americans believe that achievement gains one the testimony of others to one's worth, which then permits self-acceptance. Danes, in contrast, want to get along, but not to stand out: to be accepted as someone pleasant. Note the distinction here between winning the regard of others through achievement, which we believe to be the dominant American theme, and simply gaining acceptance as a result of a pleasant personality, which seems more characteristic of the Danish outlook.

The meaning of education in America should be understood in relation to this theme of "getting somewhere." Over two-thirds of Americans, compared with one-third of Danes, see one of the goals of higher education as providing an opportunity to learn skills which will earn a high income. Occupation, too, is valued for its contribution to establishing oneself: Americans, much more often than Danes, want an occupation which offers a chance for advancement or a high income, while Danes, more than Americans, want an occupation which they like for its own sake.

Our findings regarding differences in what is important in an occupation suggest that Americans tend to be concerned with extrinsic rewards through which the regard of others may be won, whereas members of our comparison society, the Danes, are not. We find the same concern with extrinsic rewards in the attitudes of American adolescents toward school tasks. This is another point at which the data lead us to see the adolescent subculture as expressing society-wide values.

The American concern with the responsibility of young people to their families, noted above, is expressed in the greater tendency of American parents and adolescents to agree that doing things with the family, helping at home, and respecting one's parents, are all of first importance. The importance of respecting one's parents is almost universal among Americans: 95% of mothers agreed it was of first importance; the percentage among adolescents is almost as high. Among Danes, 76% of mothers and about 60% of adolescents said that respecting one's parents is of first importance. Comparative data are illuminating here, since an American reader is apt to feel that all parents, everywhere, demand respect. The idea clearly has appeal for Danes, particularly parents, but it does not have the uniform acceptance it is given in the United States.

A value item more frequently endorsed by Danes than by Americans is that of "pleasing one's parents." This datum may help us more sharply to delineate the reason that American families demand respect. It is not to make the parents happier but rather to enable the parents to direct their children toward appropriate behaviors, endeavors, and goals.

On fundamental issues, those related to the adolescent's future place in the community, such as "the best way to get ahead in life," American adolescents agree with American parents, and Danish adolescents agree with Danish parents. However, in one exceptional area, items are responded to similarly by both Danish and American adolescents, and by both Danish and American parents, but differently by adolescents and parents in each country. These items indicate the kinds of issues around which an age-graded culture may form. They are "participating in sports," "being popular in school," and "going out on dates." Each of these concerns what might be characterized as the fun of adolescence. In each case, from a third to half the adolescents, in both the United States and Denmark, said the item was of first importance, and a much smaller proportion of parents agreed.

To an extent, our quantitative material documents assessments of American values which have been made by observers for some time. Warner (1962, pp.130-132), for one, has commented on the theme of success:

> (Americans) believe that a man, by applying himself, by using the talents he has, by acquiring the necessary skills, can rise from lower to higher status and that his family can rise with him... The American Dream is not a mere fantasy that can be dismissed as unimportant to those who think realistically, for it does provide the motive power for much of what Americans do in their daily lives. It is the basic, powerful, motivating force that drives most of them.

However, as Riesman (1953, p. 66) points out, in modern American life, success is defined variously by various groups, and is constantly being redefined as we decide anew on ultimate goals. Success is, in the last analysis measured by the extent to which one has managed to win the regard of others:

> Approval itself, irrespective of content, becomes almost the only unequivocal good in this situation; one makes good when one is approved of. Thus all power, not merely some power, is in the hands of the actual or imaginary approving group, and the child learns from his parents' reactions to him that nothing in his character, no possession he owns, no inheritance of name or talent, no work he has done is valued for itself but only for its effect on others... "To him that hath approval, shall be given more approval."

II. Family Structure:

If we accept that American life is motivated in part by a striving to win the regard of others, and that American parents require the respect of their children so that they may effectively guide their children's endeavors toward the regard of others, then we may understand the structure developed in the United States by families of adolescents. Families with American adolescents, despite the permissiveness often attributed to American parents of very young children, are much more often authoritarian than are families of Danish adolescents (Table 7-1). It is the American parent rather than the adolescent (or than the two together) who is likely to make most decisions; the parental decisions are less frequently explained; parents establish more rules.

We characterize families where the parent alone makes decisions as "authoritarian"; where both parent and child decide jointly, as "democratic"; and where the child alone decides as "permissive." The authoritarian pattern is the one most frequently observed in the United States, whether we consider the practice of mothers alone, of fathers alone, or of the two jointly; it is much less frequently observed in Denmark, where the modal family pattern is the democratic (Table 8-16).

American families have many more rules than do Danish families, especially about behaviors which might produce social difficulties for the adolescent or the parents. These include: being in on time at night; setting some limit on dating; not going with certain boys or certain girls. American families appear to be more permissive than the Danish only when no social danger is likely to be encountered; an example is "eating dinner with the family," a practice required by more Danish than American families (Tables 7-3, 7-4).

Thus, three themes are identified to this point: the greater emphasis in America than in Denmark on achievement, family responsibility, and authoritarianism. These themes may interrelate as follows: the greater authoritarianism of the American family stems, at least in part, from the responsibility felt by American parents to supervise the activities of their adolescents to ensure that they behave in ways most likely to maintain the respect of others. It may also be the case, however, that Danish parents exercise relatively greater control over very young children, which then permits them to allow these children more self-direction in adolescence. That is, it may be that early permissiveness requires later control.

American adolescents accept the premises of American family life. They agree that respect for parents is a value of first importance, as has already been noted. They also believe that their opinions are in agreement with those of their parents. Finally, if their parents were to disagree with their choice of friends, they say, more frequently than do Danish adolescents, that they would give up the friends. At the same time, however, they are much more likely than the Danes to feel that their parents should treat them more like adults. A large minority of American adolescents, a much larger proportion than in the

Danish adolescent population, feel that their parents do not give them enough freedom. Naturally enough, it is those adolescents whose parents have many rules who report insufficient freedom (Table 7-12). It is particularly the younger children, in both the United States and Denmark, who feel their parents treat them too little like adults. But in the United States, in contrast to Denmark, even among adolescents 18 and over, the majority continue to say that their parents should treat them more like adults (Table 7-15).

In both the United States and Denmark, parental restrictiveness seems to bring with it conflict between the adolescent and the parent. In families where the adolescent feels too little freedom from his parents, he is much more likely to report that it is hard for him to get along with his parents, and that there has been conflict with them in the past year (Table 7-17). This is only to be expected; in the restrictive family, parents take positions on many more issues. Furthermore, in both the United States and Denmark, the authoritarian pattern of decision-making seems to produce in the adolescent a feeling of distance from the parent in a variety of ways. Compared with adolescents from democratic families, adolescents from authoritarian families are more likely to feel that their parents do not explain their decisions; these children are less likely to bring their problems to their parents, and are less likely to enjoy doing things with their parents.

We may infer that American parents feel it is their responsibility to continue the restrictive structures of their families, despite the stress this engenders, from the finding that American mothers are likely to report more rules in their families than their children actually perceive. It may be to the advantage of adolescents to understate the number of rules in their families, and thus to claim areas of freedom by means of ignorance of the law; but it also seems likely that American mothers overstate the number of rules which are actually operative in their families, and one reason for this is probably that rules are a mark of parental responsibility. (Data appear in Table 7-14.)

To summarize the foregoing, the American family fosters in its adolescents the aim of establishing themselves and, to make sure they behave appropriately, assumes a structure in which many rules exist along with, probably, close surveillance of behavior. Furthermore, American parents do this in the face of adolescent restiveness which must often lead to conflict--found in Denmark as well as in the United States--in response to restrictive family structures. American parents do this, we propose, because they feel that they should: that it is their responsibility as parents to behave this way in order to guide their children's behavior toward the regard of others.

American and Danish families differ in the relative importance as parents of mother and father. In the United States, it is the mother who is most likely to voice the family directives, and to back them with discipline. The American mother is almost invariably responsible for the discipline of girls, and somewhat more often than the father responsible for the discipline of boys. In Danish families, in contrast, both parents more frequently share responsibilities. Not only is shared responsibility less frequent in America, but disagreement between parents about discipline of adolescents is more frequent; in case of disagreement, the American mother more often wins.

The relative dominance of the American mother may be explained to some extent by a withdrawal of the American father from family interaction. We find that parents spend less time talking with each other in American than in Danish households. Perhaps the same need for achievement which is expressed in other ways in the American family keeps American men committed to the world of work to the point where they are relatively unavailable at home.

The type of issues which American youngsters bring to their parents is interesting and significant. American adolescents are likely to bring to their parents problems involving fundamental orientations: morals and values, and the expressions of these values in dating and choice of friends. Half or more of American adolescents would bring these problems to their parents--generally to their mothers--whereas Danish adolescents would more often bring them to friends. Despite the greater prevalence of conflict in American families, American adolescents seem to accept that their parents, and particularly their mothers, are proper advisers in relation to fundamental orientations. In regard to issues which deal with specific plans or programs, however--for example, which middle-class occupation, as opposed to whether the adolescent will aim for a middle-class occupation or which subjects in school should be taken--the American parent is apt to encourage his adolescent to consult specialists. This is supported by the finding that only 20% of American adolescents would bring school problems to their parents, whereas 74% of them would bring school problems to a teacher or guidance counselor. In Denmark, in contrast, 44% of adolescents would bring these problems to their parents (Table 9-8). Similarly, two-fifths of American adolescents would bring problems dealing with choice of career to their parents, compared with three-fourths of Danish adolescents. In both countries, as we note in a later section, parents have a great deal of influence on adolescent decisions regarding continuation of education. American parents, we must conclude, are concerned with their children doing well, but not with the particular avenue along which they pursue success. They continue to concern themselves with the fundamental values and outlook of their children, and with their children's social behavior, long after most Danish parents treat their children as already formed. Despite this, the American parent seems willing--we would guess very much so--to have his adolescent youngster consult specialists for help in just how and where to pursue his fundamental aims.

Aspects of Riesman's (1953, pp. 65-66) analysis of the concerns of "other-directed" parents correspond very closely to our findings.

He writes:

> Parents in our era can only equip the child to do his best, whatever that may turn out to be. What is best is not in their control but in the hands of the school and peer-group that will help locate the child eventually in the hierarchy. But even these authorities speak vaguely; the clear principles of selection that once guided people of inner-directed character no longer apply....
>
> The other-directed child...faces not only the requirement that he make good but also the problem of defining what making good means. He finds that both the definition and the evaluation of himself depend on the company he keeps: first, on his schoolmates and teachers; later, on peers and superiors...

III. The Social System of the School:

The family is one of the two social structures within which, for most adolescents, life takes place. The high school is the other. We base our assessments here on our study of a reasonably representative sample of Danish schools and on three American schools chosen as matching their range.

In schools in the United States, much more than in Denmark, attending classes is only one of a wide variety of activities engaged in by students. In addition to the classes, there are official and semi-official assemblies and a host of activities, clubs, and social events (Barker and Wright, 1955). In addition to academic concerns, the school supports involvement by students in both athletic and social areas. Most American schools attempt to provide formal recognition for outstanding achievements. Those whose grades are outstanding are likely to be listed on an honor roll; those who do well in athletics are likely to be given a school letter (as may be those who serve in the band); social prominence is apt to be recognized through class elections for various offices.

We may assume that the attention paid by the American high school to the identification of students who are in some way outstanding responds to the need of its students for social recognition. There are few equivalent practices in Danish high schools. Nor, in the Danish high schools, are there the alternative routes to establishing oneself which are found in American schools. Coleman, in his study of ten Midwest high schools, lists a number of different attributes which each make some contribution to the achievement of prominence in one or more of his schools: personality, reputation, athletic ability, friendliness, grades, looks, possession of a car, money, neighborhood, clothes. Only one of these, grades, relates to academic success. All the others are related to other ways of gaining regard (Coleman, 1961; Henry, 1963). It is important to recognize that the American high school, in contrast to the Danish, does not limit recognition to the academically successful.

A. Interactions with Peers within the School:

American adolescents are not especially different from Danish adolescents in the numbers of friends they report, and in the tendency to choose as friends other adolescents of about the same age, in the same school, and in the same grade, although friendship has somewhat different meanings in the two societies. The numbers and sources of friends are about the same (Tables 6-1, 6-3, 6-5).

One difference that our data suggest between American and Danish friendship patterns is in the extent of close, mutually-recognized bonds. In a number of ways, including relative frequency of visiting of friends ranked as "best," "second best," and "third best," and relative similarity of attitude among reciprocated and non-reciprocated friendship choices, American adolescents seem to form several friendships of about the same intensity, while Danish adolescents seem to form one very close tie, and then maintain several other more distant relationships. However, the friendship groupings which develop out of interlocking associations are about the same size in the two societies. In each society, by the criteria used in this report, groups may be as small as threesomes and range up to a size of 20 or 22 members. The great majority of groups contain from 5 to 11 members, with more groups toward the smaller side of this range. All but a small minority of friendships among both American and Danish adolescents are with fellow schoolmates, and so a description of cliques within the school will serve adequately as a description of all adolescent friendship groups.

Thus, in size, frequency of contact, and base in attendance at the same school, there is little difference between American and Danish friendship groupings. Only in the comparatively lesser importance, for Americans, of a single close relationship, and perhaps--this is speculative--a comparatively greater importance of the group as a whole, does a difference emerge.

B. Status and Recognition in the Schools:

Marked differences exist in the functioning of the school social systems in the United States and Denmark. The American concern with winning the regard of others results in great sensitivity, among American adolescents, to the way other adolescents are rated on a host of characteristics. Asked to name the best athlete among boys, the best dressed among girls, the best student among both boys and girls, American adolescents display almost complete consensus. Danish adolescents display consensus here, too, but not anywhere near the American level (Tables 4-3 and 4-4). Even in a characteristic one might suppose less likely to be visible, "most popular with the opposite sex," American adolescents, and particularly American girls, display great consensus, certainly much greater than that displayed by Danish students (Tables 4-3 and 4-4). We conclude that in the United States adolescents are acutely observant of the performances of their peers and develop agreement among themselves regarding who is outstanding in what ways.

Even more striking cross-societal differences appear in the identification of members of the leading crowd. In both the United States and Denmark, certain youngsters may be identified as leaders, or in the leading crowd. In the United States, however, this characterization comes more easily than in Denmark; many more American adolescents can name members of the leading crowd. Also, except for boys in the small rural school, adolescents in the United States display very high consensus regarding who is in the leading crowd. (In the one exceptional situation of boys in the rural school, there is some evidence that it is not lack of clarity, but rather the existence of competing elites, which is responsible for the low--for Americans--consensus.) In contrast, in about half the Danish schools, there is only moderate consensus at most, and in the other half there is virtually no consensus whatsoever: a demonstration of the absence of a leading crowd, since a leading crowd can hardly be said to exist unless it is recognized by others (Tables 4-3 and 4-4).

There is further evidence that American schools develop leading crowds, and that this is a peculiarly American phenomenon, not shared by schools in Denmark. The groupings of friendship choices in the American rural school and the largest Danish schools were studied more closely, and it was found that in the American rural school certain groups were made up for the most part of adolescents identified by others as members of the leading crowd. There were few or no such groups in the Danish schools. In many of the Danish schools, someone identified as a leader turned out to be relatively isolated (Table 6-9). Some, but not all, of this can be ascribed to the greater number of American students who nominated individuals as members of the leading crowd. It still must be concluded that the leading crowd is a reality in American schools, and either absent, or much less crystallized, in the Danish schools. We believe that the phenomenon of the leading crowd is one more expression of the American adolescent's concern for social regard. This concern leads to competition which, in turn, gives rise to widely recognized ratings. Those who have been successful in the ratings feel the affinity of adolescents with much in common; and in addition, of course, their mutual approval supports the approval shown each by their schoolmates as a body.

The characteristics which gain a student a position in the leading crowd are likely to correspond to those valued by the school as a whole. A leading crowd can only remain a group of high esteem if its members are individually esteemed by the community. However, since members of the leading crowd to an extent function as social arbiters, determining which other students will be accepted into their group and which excluded, they can give more or less weight to particular values among those held by the school as a whole. The correlation between various characteristics and membership in the leading crowd suggests, for American schools, the values which count. The correlations for Danish schools are similar to those found in the American schools, but are difficult to interpret, since they have to do with students identified by their fellows, in response to our questionnaire request, as members of a leading crowd when such a body had little reality. In American schools, we find positive and statistically-significant correlations between membership in the leading crowd and every single specific criterion in terms of which an individual could be rated in our study: being a good athlete, being well dressed, being a good student, being popular, and even being someone one would choose for a friend. However, even though one might conclude that any basis for being outstanding is valued by the American adolescent, certain kinds of prominence are more regularly associated with membership in the leading crowd than others: being an athlete for the boys, being well dressed for the girls, being thought popular with the opposite sex for each, and being someone one would choose for a friend, especially for the boys. Being a best student is strongly related to membership in the leading crowd only for boys in the rural school. For boys in this school, there may be two leading crowds, one of which is based on scholarship. In the other two of our three American schools, and in the rural one for a good part of the student body, although prominence itself is of value in determining membership in the leading crowd, prominence along the fun, companionship, and sports dimension is more important than prominence along the dimension of scholarship (Table 4-7). We are not sure why this is so. It may be that scholarship is more evidently competitive than other endeavors in that success for one means relative failure for others, while (as Coleman, 1961, has pointed out) this is not the case for companionship or even for sports where an outstanding athlete represents, rather than outdistances, his fellows. Also, it may be that the image of the scholar is associated with following too closely the directives of parent and teacher, directives which all adolescents follow, as we have shown, but with a sense of restiveness and desire for greater independence. In any event, the relatively inferior status of scholarship as a basis for winning the esteem of fellows has a number of important consequences for American adolescents.

C. Attitudes toward Intellectual Achievement: Studies, and Grades:

We now have pointed out that in American schools, except for the boys in the rural school, achievement in scholarship is the least effective way of gaining entrance into the leading crowd. Another statement of this is the finding that only a fourth or fewer of the members of leading crowds would want to be remembered as brilliant students rather than as athletic stars, leaders in activities, or individuals most popular (again with the exception of boys in the rural school, and now with the additional exception of girls in the urban school; see Table 4-14). In all American schools, taking the student body as a whole, it always is a minority who would want to be remembered as brilliant students. In Danish schools, in contrast, it is a majority. There are few other meaningful routes to prominence for Danish students, but this is itself an expression of the lesser need of Danish students for establishing themselves. In America, the relatively inferior value of scholarship as a way of establishing oneself, together with the greater attractiveness of the other routes available, and the greater need for establishing oneself in the regard of others, combine to make being a good student comparatively unimportant among American adolescents.

There is a group of American students, however, for whom good grades are the route to establishing themselves. These are students who do well scholastically. For this group--the top-rank students in general, with the exception of those few who will be outstanding in other ways as well--we may expect that grades will be particularly important. In fact, we find that, while in American schools the student body as a whole values good grades less than the student body as a whole in the Danish schools, the top-rank students in the American schools are more likely to value good grades highly than the top-rank students in the Danish schools (Table 5-1). The American emphasis on establishing oneself thus functions to polarize attitudes toward grades: those who are not top-rank students are comparatively more likely to say they are not important than their Danish counterparts, and those who are top-rank students are comparatively more likely to say they are important than their Danish counterparts. The result of this polarization in attitudes is that American students who have chosen the route of scholastic achievement feel different from others in the school, and, in fact, exaggerate the extent to which they are different. Taking the student body as a whole, fewer than one student in five, in any of the American schools, believes that good grades are extremely important to his fellows. However, among top-rank students, even fewer believe that grades are extremely important to others. In the American high school, taking the route of academic achievement means accepting that one's motivations (and not just one's talents) are different. No aspect of this phenomenon appears in the Danish schools (Table 5-1).

We may speculate on the process that underlies such uniformity in belief among American students that other students do not value grades. Certainly, students who hold this view are correct in that the proportion who do value grades is a distinct minority. Yet the near unanimity with which American students make this appraisal seems unjustified by the reality; since a third of the students value grades, why should almost no one believe that grades are valued by others? Not only is it a minority among American students who think good grades important, but even this minority apparently must dissimulate in order to suggest to their fellows that they are as unconcerned as everyone else. We speculate that admitting a concern for grades is unfashionable, and perhaps even unwise, in high school society, especially since it is not simply achievement itself which is important to the adolescent, but achievement as a way of winning the regard of others, and an unattractive ambitiousness may well subvert the already unclear worth of grades in this respect. Such dissimulation, repeated throughout the student body, would result in a pluralistic ignorance in which students systematically underestimate the proportion of their fellows who are interested in grades.

There are at least two different reasons why students might want good grades: to establish themselves among their peers in high school, and to obtain the post-high-school rewards available to the successful student (admission to a good college and eventual entrance into a desirable career). Which plays the more important role perhaps may be suggested by the finding that adolescents who aim to continue their education are less likely than those who are identified by others as best students to say that grades are extremely important. Future plans seem less reliable as a correlate of concern for grades than present reputation (Table 5-1).

Earlier we showed that in the United States both parents and adolescents are less often concerned with the intrinsic gratifications of satisfying work than they are with the extrinsic rewards of achievement. The same seems true of American adolescents in relation to academic concerns, considering now only that minority for whom good grades are extremely important. Among American students as a whole, it is perhaps not surprising that most report that study is not satisfying in itself. What may be surprising is that the same report is made by the majority of top-rank students. In the United States, among students for whom grades are extremely important--who accept this route to achievement--studying is satisfying only for a minority; in Denmark, students who value grades also report, by and large, that they find studying to be satisfying (38% vs. 58%). In the United States, in all categories of adolescents who are in some way identified with scholastic achievement--those who feel themselves to be in the top rank of students, those who are believed by their fellows to be among the best students, those who would like to be remembered as brilliant students, those who plan to continue their education--getting good grades is much more frequently valued than is studying. In Denmark, the percentage of students who very much want good grades is only a bit larger than the percentage of students who say studying is satisfying: 2 to 4%. In the United States, in the categories of grade-oriented students, the percentage difference between those who think grades extremely important and those who value studying ranges from 20 to 30%.

IV. The Role of Peers:

The role played by peers for American adolescents complements the role played by their parents. American adolescents rely on their parents for counsel; they look to their friends primarily for companionship. Compared with Danish adolescents, the American are more likely to enjoy the company of their friends over the company of their parents, more likely to enjoy dating, and more likely to enjoy going out with friends, but less likely to rely on their friends for assistance, support, or counsel. Only a small minority of American adolescents would bring problems of morals and values, or other personal problems to their friends, a much larger proportion of Danish adolescents would do this. American adolescents, more than Danish, would respect the opinion of their mothers over that of their best friends. The only issue which would be taken to friends by a greater proportion of American adolescents than Danish adolescents is that of what clothing to buy, and even here the majority of American adolescents would take the issue to their mothers, as would an even larger proportion of Danish adolescents (Tables 9-1, 9-2, 9-3, 9-5, 9-8).

The peer orientation of the American adolescent appears in the form permitted it by the directiveness of the American family. In those relatively exceptional American families which seem to follow the democratic pattern more typical of Danish families (which permit their adolescents to share in the decision-making process and explain decisions they make themselves), adolescents respond by more often preferring the company of their parents to that of their friends. Thus, the way American parents pattern their relationships with their adolescent children to some extent determines the way the adolescents pattern their relationships with each other.

V. The Relative Influence of Peers and Parents:

As we have already noted, American parents often set rules regarding what peers are acceptable as friends or dates, and American adolescents suggest that they abide by such rules when they are set. One may suspect that American adolescents learn to choose their friends partly in terms of the sort of influence the friends will exert: adolescents would then be likely to select as friends those other adolescents who represent values they themselves believe in, partly because their parents subscribe to them as well. These two processes--parental supervision of friendships, and adolescent selection of friendships in terms of values shared with parents--should each result in friendships which support parental values.

Our findings are that in the critical area of educational goals, adolescents in the United States show very high concordance with both their mothers and their best friends. We would account for this concordance in terms of the importance in the family, given American values, of the decision regarding future educational plans, the direct and indirect influence of the American parent, particularly the American mother, and the selection processes which bring together as friends adolescents who are in similar circumstances and have similar outlooks. (In Denmark, there is also concordance with both parents and peers in educational plans; there too friends support rather than oppose familial orientations.)

In relation to educational goals, in both the United States and Denmark, parental influence seems the more important factor, when contrasted with the influence of the best friend. There is some evidence that the closer the friend, the more his outlook is likely to match that of the adolescent's own, but, of course, this might come about both through influence and through selection. The possibility remains that, despite the effectiveness of the American family in communicating general goals to its young members, some American adolescents may rebel, but our data make clear that such adolescents constitute only a small minority of American adolescents as a whole.

Continuing education is available to a larger proportion of American than Danish adolescents, and it may be that its value is greater in the United States than in Denmark. This, combined with the greater directiveness of American parents results in many more American than Danish parents giving strong encouragement to their adolescent children to continue their education. Indeed, in the United States, parents almost universally give either strong or moderate encouragement to the idea of continuing education. Although American adolescents talk about their educational plans with many others, strong encouragement from the mother seems nearly always enough in itself to determine their actual plans. Among adolescents who receive strong encouragement from their mothers, about nine out of ten in middle-class circumstances, and about eight out of ten in lower-class circumstances, decide to continue their education (Tables 11-14, 11-15, and 11-16).

We can go further and ask about the individual adolescents who disagree with their parents. Are they especially likely to have peers who support them in their rebellion? The answer seems to be that they are not; quite the contrary. Adolescents whose plans do not correspond to those of their parents are less likely to have plans which correspond to those of their best friends. This is only to be expected: the peer influences are compatible with, and supportive of, the parental influences. Those adolescents who differ from the one are apt to differ from the other.

To summarize, in the critical area of educational planning--critical from the viewpoint of American parents--strong encouragement by the mother is responded to by appropriate planning by the great majority of adolescents. These adolescents then form friendships with other adolescents who have made the same plans. The attitudes of peers and parents are here mutually supportive and, as we have suggested earlier, this may well come about because the parents, and to a lesser extent the adolescents themselves, see to it that this is so. We might generalize to suppose that such mutual support will be found in all other areas considered critical by the parents.

Apart from the issue of educational goals, our findings regarding concordance between adolescent choices of role in school and like matters and those of both friends and parents suggest little concordance to exist with either. This suggests the very great difference, so far as American parents are concerned, between the issue of educational goals and the issue of, for example, whether it is better to choose the specific routes to prominence of athlete or scholar. American parents care about whether their children are going to be able to do the best possible in terms of establishing themselves, they are much less involved in the particular way in which their children choose to accomplish this.

Peers are important in the United States in that they offer opportunities for fun and companionship; in that peers reinterpret parental directives in terms more meaningful to adolescents; in that peers specify behaviors and outlooks in areas left to them by parents; and in that peers offer a sphere in which the adolescent can begin his career of winning the regard of others. Parental influence varies according to the issue involved. There is no doubt that when it comes to future life goals, parental influence is much stronger than the influence of peers. In the United States, peers support the goals held to be important by the parents, or, perhaps more accurately, each express the values and goals of the society they share.

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Appendix A

The Measurement of Consensus

The measure of consensus which is used in Chapter 4 is the same as the measure which Coleman (1961) used in The Adolescent Society. The measure indicates the amount of interdependence in sociometric choices.

Coleman (1964, pp. 434-441) presents the measure, when an individual can choose himself, as

$$C = \frac{k-1}{N\left(k \sum_{i=1}^{k} \left(\frac{n_i}{N}\right)^2 - 1\right)} = \frac{k-1}{(k/N) \sum_{i=1}^{k} n_i^{2} - N},$$

where k = number of individuals eligible to receive choices,

n_i = number of choices individual i receives, and

$N = \Sigma n_i$ = total number of choices.

When each person makes just one choice, N = k and the formula becomes

$$C = \frac{N-1}{\sum_{i=1}^{N} n_i^{2} - N}$$

The derivation of Coleman's measure of consensus under the null hypothesis of independent, equally likely choices is as follows.

Let n_i = the number of choices individual i received. Using the binomial distribution the expected value of n_i is N/k and the variance $\frac{N}{k}\left(\frac{k-1}{k}\right)$, where N = total number of choices and k = number of individuals eligible to receive choices.

Define $X_i = \sqrt{k/N}\, n_i - \frac{N}{k}$, a random variable distributed approximately normal with mean 0 and variance $\frac{k-1}{k}$. Then $\sum X_i^2 = \frac{k}{N} \sum \left(n_i - \frac{N}{k}\right)^2$, the sum of squares of these variables, is distributed according to χ^2 with k-1 degrees of freedom (k-1, because the number of choices is fixed), with expected value equal to k-1 and variance = 2(k-1).

Thus, the numerator of Coleman's measure is a constant and the denominator is distributed approximately as χ^2_{k-1}. One would like to use the χ^2 distribution to find significance levels for values of the measure.

The exact distribution of the denominator of Coleman's measure of consensus was calculated[1] for groups of sizes 1 to 50 under the null hypothesis that each of the N people in a group chooses independently of all the others and is equally likely to give his one choice to any member of the group, including himself. The form of the measure used in these calculations was

$$D = \sum_{i=1}^{N} (n_i - 1)^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{N} n_i^2 - N,$$

where the expected value of n_i is 1 and the variance is $\frac{N-1}{N}$.

For testing the null hypothesis of no consensus against the alternative hypothesis of greater than random consensus the chi-square approximation for the exact distribution is subject to moderate actual errors (largest is .0202) and percentage errors (largest is 20.3%) at the .01, .05, .10, and .25 levels of significance for groups of 15 or larger. For testing the null hypothesis of no consensus against the alternative hypothesis of greater than random dissensus the critical region would be in the left tail of the distribution and the level of significance is $(1-\alpha)$. Under this hypothesis, the chi-square approximation is subject to moderate actual errors (largest is .0158) and percentage errors (largest is 20.5%) at the .25 level of significance ($\alpha = .75$) for groups of 15 or larger and at the .10 level for groups of 35 or larger. However, in this situation, the chi-square approximation is subject to large percentage errors (e.g., 58.6%) at the .05 or .01 levels of significance even for groups as large as 50.

The approximation does much better for small α than for large α. The situation corresponding to small α is consensus or agreement in the group; to large α is dissensus or disagreement. In most of the situations reported in Chapter 4 some consensus is the rule. The chi-square approximation to the exact distribution of the χ^2 distribution is adequate in these situations for $N \geq 15$. Significance levels of the measures presented in Table 4-3 were determined by comparing the reciprocals of the values to the χ^2/df distribution. For schools where $N \leq 50$ significance levels were also ascertained from tables of the exact probability distribution of Σn_i^2-N. Two values, .69 (N=49) and .63(N=29), significant at the .05 level with the χ^2 approximation, were not significant at that level with the exact probability distribution. There was no change in the significance level of the other values.

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[1] This work is described in detail in a paper by Zahn and Roberts (1967).

Under the null hypothesis of independent, equally likely choices the denominator of the consensus measure, $D = \Sigma n_i^2-N$, is approximated by the χ^2 distribution. Therefore, the distribution of the reciprocal of the consensus measure, $(\Sigma n_i^2-N)/(N-1)$, would be approximated by the χ^2/df distribution. The ratio of two independent χ^2/df variables is distributed according to the F distribution. In Tables 4-4,5, the F distribution was used to find significance levels of ratios of two reciprocals of the consensus measure.

Appendix B

The Measurement of Concordance

The following questions were raised regarding the measurement of concordance between two groups of respondents (e.g., mothers and children):

1) Is there agreement in the *distribution* of answers given by the two groups of respondents?

2) Is there agreement *within* a single table between paired observations? That is, given matched mother-adolescent pairs and taking the marginal distributions into account, is the agreement observed within families greater than we would expect by chance?

Different statistics were selected to answer each of these questions.

1) A simple chi-square calculation will test for agreement between "k" marginal distributions with the identical "p" categories in each distribution.

2) Several statistics could be used to measure *within*-family agreement:

   a) percent agreement (absolute agreement)
   b) Z-value measures of relative agreement
   c) intra-class correlation
   d) product-moment correlation
   e) Kendall's Tau-beta coefficient
   f) Coleman's measure of concordance

Kendall's (1962) Tau-beta statistic was used in the study. The measure is given by the formula

$$\text{Tau-beta} = \frac{2\,(S - D)}{\sqrt{(N^2 - \sum_i R_i^{\,2})\,(N^2 - \sum_j C_j^{\,2})}},$$

where S = Number of pairs of observations which show the same relationship between rank order of the two variables.

and D = Number of pairs of observations which show a different relationship between the rank order of the two variables.

Tests of significance are based on the standard error of (S - D), accounting for ties (Kendall, 1962).

Appendix C

Significance of Difference Between Two Percentages

In this report we are often testing the hypothesis that the percentage of individuals possessing a given trait (A) is the same for two populations. Could the two samples have been drawn from populations in which the proportion of individuals possessing trait (A) is the same? The following ratio, which can be evaluated by use of a t distribution may be used in answering this question:

$$t = \frac{(P_1 - P_2) - 0}{\sqrt{\overline{pq} \cdot \frac{n_1 + n_2}{n_1 n_2}}}, \text{ where}$$

P_1 = the proportion of individuals in a sample from one population possessing A

P_2 = the proportion of individuals in a sample from a second population possessing A

$\overline{p}$ = an estimate of the proportion in the combined populations possessing A:

$$\overline{p} = \frac{n_1 P_1 + n_2 P_2}{n_1 + n_2}$$

$\overline{q} = 1 - \overline{p}$

n_1 = number of individuals in sample from one population

n_2 = number of individuals in sample from second population

Davies (1962) has compiled tables to minimize the work required in evaluating the ratio. Table C-1, which follows, is derived from the more complex tables. Table C-1 is entered with n_1, n_2 and $\overline{p}$. When the n's are approximately equal the formula for $\overline{p}$ simplifies to $\frac{P_1 + P_2}{2}$. The values in the body of the table correspond to $/P_1 - P_2/$.

In a certain sense the values appearing in the extreme columns of Table C-1 can be viewed as a "floor" and a "ceiling" for the various sample sizes. If the "floor" is not reached, it is known without further computation, that the difference does not reach the .05 level of significance. If the "ceiling" is reached or surpassed, it is known without further computation, that the difference reaches the .05 level of significance.

For approximately equal N's Table C-1 can be summarized as follows for $p \leq .05$.

	Percentage Difference	
N	"Floor"	"Ceiling"
30	15.5	25.9
40	13.3	22.2
50	11.7	19.8
75	9.6	16.1
100	8.5	14.1
150	6.9	11.4
200	5.9	9.8
300	4.9	8.1
400	4.2	6.9
500	3.7	6.2
600	3.4	5.7
700	3.2	5.4
800	3.0	5.0
900	2.9	4.8
1000	2.6	4.4

APPENDIX TABLE C-1

Percentage Differences for Significance at .05 Level by Size of Samples and Proportions[1]

n_1	$\bar{p}$		
n_2	.10 .90	.30 .70	.50 .50
30			
30	15.5	23.7	25.9
36	14.8	22.6	24.7
40	14.5	22.1	24.1
46	14.0	21.4	23.4
50	13.8	21.1	23.0
60	13.3	20.4	22.2
71	13.0	19.9	21.7
90	12.6	19.2	21.0
115	12.2	18.6	20.3
130	12.1	18.4	20.1
140	12.0	18.3	20.0
162	11.8	18.1	19.7
194	11.7	17.8	19.5
240	11.5	17.6	19.2
375	11.3	17.2	18.8
600	11.1	17.0	18.5
1500	11.0	16.7	18.3
36			
36	14.1	21.5	23.5
40	13.8	21.0	22.9
46	13.3	20.3	22.1
56	12.7	19.4	21.2
70	12.2	18.6	20.3
85	11.8	18.1	19.7
115	11.4	17.3	18.9
161	11.0	16.7	18.3
450	10.3	15.7	17.1
1385	10.0	15.3	16.7
40			
40	13.3	20.4	22.2
50	12.7	19.3	21.1
69	11.8	18.1	19.7
87	11.4	17.3	18.9
111	11.0	16.7	18.3
200	10.3	15.7	17.1
667	9.6	14.7	16.1
1000	9.6	14.6	15.9
46			
46	12.4	19.0	20.7
56	11.8	18.1	19.7
70	11.3	17.2	18.8
82	11.0	16.7	18.3
121	10.3	15.7	17.1
210	9.6	14.7	16.1
1314	8.9	13.6	14.8
50			
50	11.9	18.2	19.8
59	11.4	17.5	19.1
71	11.0	16.7	18.3
100	10.3	15.7	17.1
154	9.6	14.7	16.1
400	8.9	13.6	14.8
1000	8.6	13.1	14.3
70			
70	10.0	15.3	16.7
82	9.6	14.7	16.1
122	8.9	13.6	14.8
192	8.3	12.6	13.8
452	7.6	11.6	12.7
1400	7.2	11.0	12.1
98			
98	8.5	12.9	14.1
108	8.3	12.6	13.8
159	7.6	11.6	12.7
303	6.9	10.5	11.4
1004	6.2	9.5	10.4
126			
126	7.5	11.4	12.5
180	6.9	10.5	11.4
349	6.1	9.4	10.2
1158	5.5	8.4	9.2
150			
150	6.9	10.5	11.4
242	6.1	9.4	10.2
469	5.5	8.4	9.2
1071	5.1	7.8	8.6
200			
200	5.9	9.0	9.8
263	5.5	8.4	9.2
556	4.9	7.4	8.1
1000	4.6	7.0	7.6
250			
250	5.3	8.0	8.8
385	4.8	7.3	8.0
1000	4.2	6.4	6.9
300			
300	4.9	7.4	8.1
484	4.3	6.6	7.2
1154	3.8	5.8	6.4
350			
350	4.5	6.8	7.5
467	4.2	6.4	6.9
1061	3.6	5.5	6.0
400			
400	4.2	6.4	6.9
588	3.8	5.8	6.4
1111	3.4	5.2	5.7
450			
450	4.0	6.1	6.7
563	3.7	5.7	6.2
1023	3.3	5.1	5.5
500			
500	3.7	5.7	6.2
714	3.4	5.2	5.7
1000	3.2	4.9	5.4

Appendix Table C-1 (Cont'd)

$\frac{n_1}{n_2}$	$\bar{p}$		
	.10	.30	.50
	.90	.70	.50
600			
600	3.4	5.2	5.4
750	3.2	4.9	5.4
1071	3.0	4.6	5.0
750			
750	3.1	4.8	5.2
1154	2.8	4.2	4.6
1000			
1000	2.6	4.0	4.4

[1] $\bar{p} = \frac{n_1 p_1 + n_2 p_2}{n_1 + n_2}$ For approximately equal n's, $\bar{p} = \frac{p_1 + p_2}{2}$

APPENDIX TABLE D-8-1

Intercorrelations* of Family Patterns[1] for the Mother and Father for Intact Families in the United States

Intercorrelations of Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations of Father Items Below Diagonal

	Decision	Explanation	Talk	Depend	Score	Closeness	Enjoy	Be like	No.Rules	Freedom
Decision		-.167*	-.006	.008	.043	.027	.018	.024	.120*	-.049
Explanation	-.124*		.301*	.233*	.138*	.289*	.292*	.259*	-.043	.194*
Talking problems	.008	.326*		.494*	.316*	.471*	.432*	.417*	.060	.196*
Depend for advice	.008	.298*	.421*		.371*	.468*	.462*	.403*	.098*	.172*
Score on index of reliance	.087*	.118*	.338*	.272*		.247*	.292*	.273*	.135*	.112*
Closeness	-.003	.331*	.435*	.456*	.229*		.455*	.459*	.028	.189*
Enjoy things	-.014	.273*	.485*	.409*	.238*	.515*		.463*	.054	.220*
Be like	.017	.272*	.405*	.326*	.257*	.483*	.487*		.076*	.202*
No. Rules	.137*	-.064*	-.060	.026	-.003	-.022	-.037	-.030		-.131*
Freedom	.099*	.190*	.123*	.161*	-.012	.187*	.175*	.146*	-.131*	

The top half of the table represents intercorrelations among mother items and the the bottom half intercorrelations among father items.

*Intercorrelations measured by tau-beta. $p \leq .05$.

[1] Based on adolescents' perceptions of family patterns. Passes 163, 164, 176, 185.

APPENDIX TABLE D-8-2

Intercorrelations* of Family Patterns[1] for Mother and Father for Intact Families in Denmark

Intercorrelations of Mother Items Above Diagonal

Intercorrelations of Father Items Below Diagonal

	Decision	Explanation	Talk	Depend	Score	Closeness	Enjoy	Be like	No. Rules	Freedom
Decision		-.010	.105*	.142*	.084*	.137*	.187*	.078*	.131*	-.084*
Explanation	.001		.352*	.239*	.099*	.228*	.258*	.231*	-.034	.167*
Talking problems	.030	.346*		.319*	.231*	.259*	.343*	.309*	.003	.185*
Depend for advice	.165*	.213*	.325*		.223*	.429*	.358*	.319*	.114*	.076*
Score on index of reliance	.146*	.151*	.234*	.227*		.237*	.226*	.164*	-.004	.058
Closeness	.085*	.247*	.324*	.385*	.164*		.381*	.441*	.038	.149*
Enjoy things	.111*	.281*	.388*	.321*	.213*	.407*		.365*	.095*	.101*
Be like	.088*	.253*	.334*	.294*	.233*	.466*	.445*		.041	.138*
No. Rules	.139*	-.035	.003	.088*	.028	.032	.047	.013		-.219*
Freedom	.078*	.150*	.156*	.121*	.006	.130*	.144*	.133*	-.219*	

*See Footnotes of Table D-8-1.

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-1

Correlations[1] between Number of Mentions as in Leading Crowd and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	.02	-.05	.01	-.06
Mother explains decisions	.10*	-.02	-.03	.00
Enjoys things with mother	-.02	-.03	-.06	-.06
Talk problems with mother	.04	-.01	-.01	.00
Be like mother	.03	.03	-.02	-.04
Closeness to mother	.02	.01	.11*	-.05
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	.04	.04	.06	-.01
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.07	-.05	.00	.00
Father explains decisions	.09	.06	.01	.01
Enjoys things with father	.01	.00	-.02	.01
Talk problems with father	-.03	.06	-.06	-.05
Be like father	-.03	.08	-.04	-.02
Closeness to father	-.02	.04	.04	-.04
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.02	.02	.02	-.07
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 76 - DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

*p $<.05$

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-2

Correlations[1] between Number of Mentions as Most Popular with Opposite Sex and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	.01	-.06	.00	-.06
Mother explains decisions	.07	-.04	.01	-.02
Enjoys things with mother	-.07	-.05	.00	-.10*
Talk problems with mother	.02	.02	-.01	-.02
Be like mother	-.08	-.03	.00	-.12**
Closeness to mother	.00	-.01	.08	-.10*
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	.01	-.04	.01	-.10*
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.07	-.04	.00	.07
Father explains decisons	.07	.07	.05	-.05
Enjoys things with father	-.11*	.04	.02	.02
Talk problems with father	-.05	.11*	-.02	-.09*
Be like father	-.07	.11*	-.06	-.10*
Closeness to father	-.06	.06	.04	-.05
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.06	.01	-.06	-.07
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 77 - DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

*p< 05; **p<.01

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-3

Correlations[1] between Number of Mentions as Best Student and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	.00	.06	.03	-.05
Mother explains decisions	.09	.01	.04	.01
Enjoys things with mother	.00	.05	.02	-.09
Talk problems with mother	.01	.01	.05	-.04
Be like mother	-.04	.00	.02	-.06
Closeness to mother	-.08	.01	.17**	-.05
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	.01	.06	.11*	-.03
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.07	.09*	.02	-.03
Father explains decisions	.05	.05	.03	.00
Enjoys things with father	-.11*	.06	.07	-.03
Talk problems with father	-.07	.11*	.07	-.05
Be like father	-.06	.08	.01	-.06
Closeness to father	-.11*	.06	.12*	-.01
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.01	.07	.11*	.01
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 100 - DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

$*p < .05; **p < .01$

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-4

Correlations[1] between Number of Mentions as Best Athlete (Best Dressed) and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	.01	-.04	-.03	.00
Mother explains decisions	.09*	.02	-.02	.05
Enjoys things with mother	.02	-.01	-.09	.03
Talk problems with mother	.10*	.04	.00	.01
Be like mother	.04	.08	.02	.00
Closeness to mother	.08	.07	.09	.01
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	.01	.01	.04	-.01
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	.06	-.04	-.03	-.01
Father explains decisions	.02	.01	.00	.05
Enjoys things with father	-.05	.06	-.05	.08
Talk problems with father	-.06	.07	.00	.00
Be like father	-.05	.06	-.02	.01
Closeness to father	-.01	.08	.07	.00
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.05	-.03	.00	-.06
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Page 100 - DATA-TEXT

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[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

$*p < 05$; $**p < .01$

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-5

Correlations[1] between Number of Mentions as Best Friend and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	-.08	-.07	-.04	-.07
Mother explains decisions	-.05	.08	.02	.07
Enjoys things with mother	-.04	.00	.01	-.01
Talk problems with mother	.01	.05	.12*	.01
Be like mother	.02	-.02	.10*	.10*
Closeness to mother	.03	.04	.14**	.03
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	-.02	.04	.11*	.11*
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	-.11*	-.01	-.01	.02
Father explains decisions	-.01	-.02	.08	.08
Enjoys things with father	-.04	-.07	.02	.11*
Talk problems with father	.03	-.01	.13**	.02
Be like father	-.06	-.01	.01	.12*
Closeness to father	-.02	-.04	.09	.08
Depends on father for advice and guidance	-.02	-.07	.04	.07
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 73 - DATA-TEXT

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[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

$^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-6

Correlations[1] between Number of Friends Named and Family Patterns, by Sex and Country

Family Patterns	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ADOLESCENT-MOTHER INTERACTIONS				
Mother authority pattern	-.09*	.05	-.02	-.02
Mother explains decisions	.02	.09*	-.01	-.05
Enjoys things with mother	.00	.03	.10*	.00
Talk problems with mother	.04	.03	.03	.05
Be like mother	.02	.05	.05	.08
Closeness to mother	.11*	.04	.10*	.03
Depends on mother for advice and guidance	.08	.05	.02	.13**
ADOLESCENT-FATHER INTERACTIONS				
Father authority pattern	.05	-.02	.06	-.01
Father explains decisions	.01	-.06	.12*	.03
Enjoys things with father	.08	-.02	.13**	.01
Talk problems with father	.04	-.05	.16**	.04
Be like father	.04	-.04	.13**	.07
Closeness to father	.05	.00	.18**	.02
Depends on father for advice and guidance	.04	.03	.08	.05
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 74 DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r. All family interaction patterns were recoded so that scales ran from "1" for least positive to "5" for most positive.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

APPENDIX TABLE D-9-7

Correlations[1] between Peer Orientation and Sociometric Behavior, by Sex and Country

Number of Mentions as:	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Leading crowd member	.13**[2]	.07	.01	.08
Popular with opposite sex	.13**	.00	.05	.08
Best student	.09	-.06	-.04	.05
Best athlete (Best dressed)	.08	-.03	.07	.00
Best friend	.12*	.01	-.05	.01
Number of friends named	-.05	-.01	-.14**	.00
Contact with best school friend	-.05	.11*	.00	.03
Total N	(470)	(501)	(450)	(491)

Pass 126/01-16; Pass 130/17-18 - DATA-TEXT

[1] Correlations measured by Pearson r

[2] This relationship is curvilinear

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

APPENDIX TABLE D-10-1

Concordance* on Values Between Mother and Adolescents for Pairs in Mother-Adolescent Dyads and Mother-Adolescent Triads in the United States and Denmark

		Concordance Between Adolescent and Mother			
		UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
		in Dyads	in Triads	in Dyads	in Triads
A.	FAMILY				
1.	Doing things with the family[1]	.077	.083	.062	.071
2.	Helping at home[1]	.038	.045	.123	.111
3.	Respecting one's parents[1]	.047	.071	.064	.074
4.	Living up to one's religious ideals[2]	.161	.157	.213	.215
5.	Pleasing one's parents[2]	.090	.088	.113	.100
B.	PEER GROUP				
6.	Being a leader in activities[1]	.125	.133	.137	.140
7.	Participating in sports[1]	.160	.168	.209	.214
8.	Going out on dates[1]	.058	.060	.039	.036
9.	Being popular in school[1]	.075	.070	.083	.092
10.	Earning money[1]	.079	.088	.096	.076
11.	Being accepted by other students[2]	.034	.032	.067	.061
12.	Being well liked[3]	.016	.002	.139	.141
13.	Having a good reputation[1]	.042	.026	.081	.080
C.	INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION				
14.	Prefer "Brilliant Student" image[4]	.111	.113	.135	.122
15.	Learning much in school[2]	.086	.089	.073	.067
16.	Working hard on studies[1]	.020	.031	.085	.099
17.	Doing serious reading[1]	.069	.068	.125	.138
18.	Planning for the future[1]	.041	.044	.064	.062
19.	Liking classical music[5]	.200	.205	.184	.169
D.	FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE[6]				
20.	Best way to get ahead	.053	.064	.131*	.118
	Preferences in a Future Occupation[7]				
21.	High income	.109	.114	.075	.081
22.	No danger of being fired	.052	.054	.030	.039
23.	Lots of free time	.007	.007	.066	.054
24.	Chances for advancement	-.001	-.005	.102	.111
25.	A feeling of accomplishment	.124	.117	.108	.106

APPENDIX TABLE D-10-1

(Continued)

	Concordance Between Adolescent and Mother			
	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	in Dyads	in Triads	in Dyads	in Triads
E. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION[8]				
26. Knowledge of community problems	.030	.020	.073	.082
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	.134	.128	.230	.220
28. Developing one's morals and values	.071	.083	.026	.015
29. Learning to get along with people	.112	.107	.090	.072
30. Social and athletic activities	.144	.145	.144	.145
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	.068	.066	.056	.067
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	.108	.104	.095	.080
33. Providing vocational training	.052	.065	.049	.064
Average for all questions	.079	.081	.101	.100
Total N	(804)[9]	(762)[10]	(791)[9]	(738)[10]

Passes 92-94, 200-201, 229/08,09

[1] Based on Student questions 259-270 and Parent questions 112-123.

[2] Based on Student questions 173-176 and Parent questions 28-31.

[3] Based on Student question 110 and Parent question 15.

[4] Based on Student question 54 and Parent question 16.

[5] Based on Student question 416 and Parent question 225.

[6] Based on Student question 178 and Parent question 169.

[7] Values 21-25 based on Student questions 226-230 and Parent questions 143-147.

[8] Based on Student questions 217-224 and Parent questions 160-167.

[9] All questions are based on the sample of adolescent-mother pairs from intact families. Since there are variations in the number of respondents who did not answer a particular question, the "Total N" given for each group is that from the smallest N for any question.

[10] All questions based on the sample of adolescent-mother pairs from intact families in the mother-adolescent-best-school-friend tryads.

*Measured by tau-beta.

APPENDIX TABLE D-10-2

Number of Cases for Each of the Value Items in Table 10-4 (from Triads)

Value Item	UNITED STATES		DENMARK	
	Student-Mother Pairs	Student-Best-Friend Pairs	Student-Mother Pairs	Student-Best-Friend Pairs
1. Doing things with the family	970	927	879	890
2. Helping at home	968	921	879	890
3. Respecting one's parents	970	924	880	890
4. Living up to one's religious ideals	961	887	858	871
5. Pleasing one's parents	962	887	859	871
6. Being a leader in activities	971	928	876	888
7. Participating in sports	963	921	878	885
8. Going out on dates	970	925	878	890
9. Being popular in school	964	923	877	883
10. Earning money	969	924	878	889
11. Being accepted by other students	963	890	859	871
12. Being well liked	1059	1056	876	875
13. Having a good reputation	973	928	880	890
14. Prefer "Brilliant Student" image	1030	1043	745	869
15. Learning much in school	963	890	859	871
16. Working hard on studies	958	921	876	888
17. Doing serious reading	964	921	879	890
18. Planning for the future	967	923	879	890
19. Liking classical music	762	644	738	671
20. Best way to get ahead	969	948	835	862
21. High income	964	925	867	870
22. No danger of being fired	964	925	867	870
23. Lots of free time	964	925	864	870
24. Chances for advancement	963	924	866	867
25. A feeling of accomplishment	964	925	869	870
26. Knowledge of community problems	1000	986	854	891
27. Knowledge of science or the arts	1003	985	854	890
28. Developing one's morals and values	1000	983	855	891
29. Learning to get along with people	1007	991	854	889
30. Social and athletic activities	1000	982	854	890
31. Preparation for a happy marriage	1003	983	856	891
32. Learning skills to earn a high income	998	984	852	889
33. Providing vocational training	1004	987	856	891

Passes 200-201/ 01A-33A for U.S. Student-Mother concordance.

Passes 195-196/ 01B-33B for U.S. Student-Best Friend concordance.

Even though these pairs are from the triads sample, the N's are unequal because of different no response rates.

APPENDIX E

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL CLIMATES

conducted by

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Boys' Attitude Questionnaire

Name____ Age __________
(Last) (First) (Middle)

School____ Grade__________

2	
4	
5	
7	
9	

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out in selected high schools, to learn about the interests and attitudes of high school students in various kinds of high school situations. We think you will find the questions interesting to answer. Try to go through the questionnaire quickly, without spending too much time on any single question. Answer the questions in order, without skipping.

Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel, for no one in this school will ever see the answers. When finished, hand the questionnaire to the research worker, who will take them directly to the University for statistical tabulation. PLEASE DO NOT OMIT ANY ITEMS.

Remember: This is an attitude questionnaire, and not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Most of the questions can be answered by a check on the line (like this: ✓), or by numbers on short lines (like this: 3). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers on the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office. If you come to a problem, raise your hand, and the research worker who has given you the questionnaire will come to your desk and answer your questions.

(You may start immediately)

10. What program are you taking in school? (Check one.)

1 __ not yet decided
2 __ vocational
3 __ commercial or business
4 __ general
5 __ college preparatory
6 __ other (What? __________)

11. How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school? (Check one.)

1 __ none or almost none
2 __ about 1/2 hour a day
3 __ about 1 hour a day
4 __ about 1 1/2 hours a day
5 __ about 2 hours a day
6 __ 3 or more hours a day

12-
22. Since you have been in high school, which of the following sports, if any, have you gone out for? (Check as many as apply.)

		In school	Outside of school
12.	none	1 ___	2 ___
13.	basketball	1 ___	2 ___
14.	football	1 ___	2 ___
15.	track and cross country	1 ___	2 ___
16.	winter sports	1 ___	2 ___
17.	baseball	1 ___	2 ___
18.	swimming	1 ___	2 ___
19.	lacrosse	1 ___	2 ___
20.	tennis and badminton	1 ___	2 ___
21.	soccer	1 ___	2 ___
22.	others (What? ___________)	1 ___	2 ___

23. How good, on the average, are your high school grades? (Check one.)

1 __ in the top quarter of my class
2 __ in the second quarter of my class
3 __ in the third quarter
4 __ in the lowest quarter

24-
25. Do your parents get after you to do well in your school work? (Check one for each parent.)

Father	Mother	
1 ___	1 ___	yes, puts on a lot of pressure
2 ___	2 ___	gets after me quite a bit
3 ___	3 ___	urges me, but not strongly
4 ___	4 ___	lets me decide what to do about school work
5 ___	5 ___	doesn't care what I do about school work
6 ___	6 ___	parent is not living, or is not in contact with me

26. Do you do much serious reading other than what you do for your courses? (Check one.)

1 __ a great deal
2 __ much
3 __ some
4 __ little or none

27. How often do you go to the movies? (Check one.)

1 __ never, or almost never
2 __ about once a month or less
3 __ about once every two or three weeks
4 __ about once a week
5 __ about twice a week
6 __ more than twice a week

28. With whom do you go most often? (Check one.)

1 __ by myself
2 __ with a date
3 __ with other boys
4 __ with a group of boys and girls
5 __ with members of my family

29. About how much time, on the average, do you watch T.V. during the school week? (Check one.)

1 __ none or almost none
2 __ about 1/2 hour a day
3 __ about 1 hour a day
4 __ about 1 1/2 hours a day
5 __ about 2 hours a day
6 __ 3 or more hours a day

30. Do you have a car of your own? (Check one.)

1 __ yes

2 __ no

31-40. How much do you like doing each of the following things: (Check one for each.)

		Very much	A little	Not at all
31.	Enjoying art or classical music	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
32.	Studying	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
33.	Listening to the radio or to popular records	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
34.	Reading (other than schoolwork)	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
35.	Watching T.V.	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
36.	Dancing	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
37.	Engaging in some sports	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
38.	Dating	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
39.	Going out with friends	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
40.	Talking about politics	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___

41. Do you date? (Check one.)

1 __ no
2 __ yes, about once a month
3 __ yes, about once every two weeks
4 __ yes, about once a week
5 __ yes, about twice a week
6 __ yes, about three or four times a week
7 __ yes, more than four times a week

42-44. Do your three best boy friends attend this school? (Check one alternative for each friend.)

		Yes	No
42.	best friend	1 __	2 __
43.	second best friend	1 __	2 __
44.	third best friend	1 __	2 __

45-46. If your very best friend does not attend this school, what does he do? (Check only one.)

__ is a student in another school
What program is he taking?

____

__ has a full time job
What kind of job does he do?

____

47. If your very best friend does not attend this school, how often do you see each other in the course of a month?

__________ times

47a. What boys here in school do you go around with most often? Write down the name of your closest friend here in school on the first line, the name of your closest friend on the second line and the name of your third closest friend on the third line. (Write both first and last names.) Indicate also the number of years you have known them.

	Names of boys	Number of years you have known each boy	
School friend # 1	______________________________	______________	years
School friend # 2	______________________________	______________	years
School friend # 3	______________________________	______________	years

48-50. Indicate how often you see each of these boys outside of school. (Check one alternative for each boy.)

		Several times a week	Once a week	Once a month	Never
48.	School friend # 1	1 ____	2 ____	3 ____	4 ____
49.	School friend # 2	1 ____	2 ____	3 ____	4 ____
50.	School friend # 3	1 ____	2 ____	3 ____	4 ____

50a. Of all the boys in your grade which boy . . . (Give both first and last names.)

is the best athlete? ________
is the best student? ________
do girls go for most? ________
would you most like to be friends with? ________

50b. Thinking of all the boys in this school, who would you most want to be like? (Give both first and last names.)

____

51. Of the boys you go around with most often, are most of them . . . (Check one.)

1 __ in this school?
2 __ in another school?
3 __ graduated, and not in college?
4 __ graduated, and in college?
5 __ dropped out of school?

(52.)
53. Suppose you had a chance to date a girl whom you don't know much about. Which one of the following three would you prefer to date? (Check only one.)

1 __ cheerleader
2 __ best student
3 __ best looking

54. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be? (Check one.)

1 __ brilliant student
2 __ athletic star
3 __ most popular

54a. If a boy came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what boys should he get to be friends with? (Give both first and last names.)

____
____
____
____
____

55-61. What does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other boys here at school? Rank the three most important items from 1 through 3: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest and 3 for the third highest.

__ coming from the right family
__ leader in activities
__ having a nice car
__ high grades, honor roll
__ being an athletic star
__ knowing a great deal about intellectual matters
__ someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings

62. How would your close friends here at school react if you decided to attend college? (Check one.)

1 __ they would encourage me
2 __ they would discourage me
3 __ they wouldn't care

63. In some schools, there seems to be one group that more or less runs things among the students. What about at this school? Is there one group that seems to be always in the middle of things, or are there several groups like that? (Check one.)

1 __ one group
2 __ two groups
3 __ three groups
4 __ more than three groups
5 __ no group

64. In general, what do your parents think of your friends here in school? (Check one.)

1 __ approve of them very much
2 __ approve for the most part
3 __ disapprove slightly
4 __ disapprove very much
5 __ they do not know my friends

65. If your parents were to object strongly to some of the friends you had, would you . . .? (Check one.)

1 __ stop going with them
2 __ see them less
3 __ see them secretly
4 __ keep going with them openly

66. Of the people your own age with whom you spend most of your free time, how many plan to go to college or are already going to college? (Check one.)

1 __ none
2 __ few
3 __ some
4 __ most
5 __ all

67- 77. Among the group you go around with in school, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular? (Check as many as apply.)

67. a __ be a good dancer
68. b __ have smart clothes
69. c __ have a good reputation
70. d __ get good grades
71. e __ stir up a little excitement
72. f __ have money
73. g __ be a leader in extracurricular activities
74. h __ know what's going on in the world of popular singers, T.V., and movie stars
75. i __ be athletic, interested in sports
76. j __ be a good friend
77. k __ have a pleasant personality

78. Which one of the above is most important in order to be popular? (Circle the letter corresponding to the item.)

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
79	80	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	1									

110. How important is it to you to be well liked by other students here in school? (Check one.)

1 __ very important
2 __ somewhat important
3 __ not important

110a. What does it take to get in with the leading crowd in this school?

____

____

____

111. Would you say you are part of the leading crowd in this school?

1 __ yes
__ no

If no: would you like to be part of the leading crowd?

2 __ yes
3 __ no
4 __ don't care

112- In which of the following clubs or
122. activities are you presently a member or participant here at school? (Check as many as apply.)

112. ___ school newspaper, magazine, or annual
113. ___ orchestra, band, or glee club
114. ___ National Honor Society
115. ___ subject matter club (math club, music club, Latin club, etc.)
116. ___ hobby clubs (stamp, photography, radio, chess, crafts, etc.)
117. ___ debating or dramatics
118. ___ inter-school athletics
119. ___ service clubs (Beta Club, Key Club, Hi-Y, etc.)
120. ___ political clubs (Young Democrats or Young Republicans)
121. ___ social clubs, fraternities, or sororities
122. ___ others (What? ____________)

123. In how many of the above organizations or activities are you an officer? (Circle the number.)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

124. How many of your teachers take a personal interest in you? (Check one.)

1 ___ all of them
2 ___ most of them
3 ___ about half of them
4 ___ few of them
5 ___ one of them
6 ___ none of them

124a. Of all the teachers in this school, which one do you like best? (Give full name.)

____

125- Which of the items below come
131. closest to fitting most of the teachers in this school? (Check as many as apply.)

125. ___ friendly
126. ___ too strict
127. ___ too easy with school work
128. ___ understand problems of teenagers
129. ___ not interested in teenagers
130. ___ bored with their job
131. ___ willing to help out in activities

132. How often do your parents attend P.T.A. meetings? (Check one.)

1 ___ regularly
2 ___ seldom
3 ___ never

133. Are you planning to finish high school? (Check one.)

1 ___ yes
2 ___ no
3 ___ undecided

134. Are you planning to go to college? (Check one.)

1 ___ no, never
2 ___ yes, but not right after high school
3 ___ yes, as a full-time student right after high school
4 ___ yes, as a part-time student right after high school
5 ___ undecided

135- In thinking about how much education
147. you expect to complete, with whom have you talked? (Check all those with whom you talked.)

a ___ mother
b ___ father
c ___ brothers or sisters
d ___ other relatives
e ___ friends here in school
f ___ friends in other schools
g ___ friends attending college
h ___ friends not attending school
i ___ teachers in school
j ___ athletic coach
k ___ guidance counselor
l ___ college representative
m ___ clergyman (minister, priest, rabbi, etc.)

148- Which one of the above encouraged you
149. most to continue your education. (Circle the letter corresponding to the category of persons.)

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

IF YOU ARE GOING TO COLLEGE OR "UNDECIDED", (i.e., checked 2 - 5 in QUESTION 134) CONTINUE WITH THE QUESTIONS BELOW. IF YOU ARE NOT GOING TO COLLEGE, SKIP TO QUESTION 156 ON THIS PAGE.

150. Check the highest level of education you expect to complete. (Check only one.)

1 __ two-year college
2 __ a bachelor's degree (4 years) only
3 __ a bachelor's degree; have not made a decision about graduate school
4 __ a professional degree (Medicine, Law, etc.) or a Doctorate (Ph.D.) (for example in physics, English, etc.)
5 __ undecided about my plans

(151.)
152. When did you make a decision on how much college training you expect to complete? (Check one.)

1 __ before I entered high school
2 __ since I entered high school
3 __ I have not yet decided how much college to complete

153-
154. How does each of your parents feel about your decision with respect to college? (Check one for each parent.)

Father	Mother	
1 __	1 __	strongly encouraged me to go
2 __	2 __	wants me to go, but has not strongly encouraged me
3 __	3 __	does not care one way or the other
4 __	4 __	does not want me to go
5 __	5 __	parent is not living or has no contact with me.

155. What will you study in college? (Check only one.)

1 __ undecided
2 __ a liberal arts program
3 __ a science program
4 __ a business program
5 __ engineering
6 __ agriculture
7 __ pre-medicine, pre-dentistry, pre-law, etc.
8 __ education
9 __ home economics or nursing
0 __ other (specify ________________)

NOW, PROCEED TO QUESTION 169 ON PAGE 8.

IF YOU ARE NOT PLANNING TO GO TO COLLEGE, ANSWER QUESTIONS 156 THROUGH 168. OTHERS SKIP TO QUESTION 169.

156-
166. Check the important reasons why you are not going to college. (Check as many as apply.)

156. a __ I can't afford it
157. b __ I decided to get married
158. c __ I don't need a college education for my intended occupation
159. d __ I decided to enter a non-college training course
160. e __ my grades aren't high enough
161. f __ I believe I am not suited for college work
162. g __ I decided to enter an apprenticeship program
163. h __ I prefer to work rather than take time out for college
164. i __ I decided to go into military service
165. j __ most of my friends are not going to college
166. k __ my parents haven't encouraged me to go

167. Which one of the above reasons for not going to college is most important to you? (Circle the letter corresponding to the reason which you consider the most important.)

a b c d e f g h i j k

168. Suppose you were to change your mind and decide that you would like to go to college. How would your family react to this? (Check one.)

1 __ they would encourage me
2 __ they would discourage me
3 __ they wouldn't care

EVERYBODY ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

169- 170. If your desires could be realized, what one job would you like to have 15 years from now? (Be specific; for example, truck driver, electrical engineer, high school teacher, machinist, dentist, crane operator, etc.)

____

171- 172. Thinking realistically, what job do you think you will actually hold 15 years from now? (Be specific.)

____

173- 176. Different people strive for different things. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these? (Rank from 1 through 4: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest, 4 for the lowest.)

__ pleasing my parents
__ learning as much as possible in school
__ living up to my religious ideals
__ being accepted and liked by other students

177. What do you do, when you disagree with your group of friends about a decision they have made? (Check only one.)

1 __ I always go along with the group
2 __ I usually go along with the group
3 __ I usually decide for myself
4 __ I always decide for myself

178. The BEST way to get ahead in life is to: (Check only one.)

1 __ work hard
2 __ have a pleasant personality and be likeable
3 __ know the right people
4 __ save your money
5 __ get a college education
6 __ be a person with a special talent such as an actor, good athlete, or singer

79	80
	2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

210- 212. People often have very different ideas about what can be expected in life. Rank the following alternatives from 1 through 3 in the order of your agreement with them.

__ I believe that man's greatest concern should be with the present time in which he lives.

__ I believe that we should try to keep up the ways of the past and to bring them back when they are lost.

__ I believe in the ways of the future. I think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead and work so that the future will be better.

213- How important is it to you personally, and how important is it to other students in this
214. school, to get good grades? (Check one in each column.)

To you personally	To other students
1 __ extremely important	1 __ extremely important
2 __ important	2 __ important
3 __ not important	3 __ not important

215- How satisfying is it to you personally, and how satisfying is it to other students in this
216. school, to work hard on studies? (Check one in each column.)

To you personally	To other students
1 __ extremely satisfying	1 __ extremely satisfying
2 __ satisfying	2 __ satisfying
3 __ not satisfying	3 __ not satisfying
4 __ unpleasant	4 __ unpleasant

217- High school students have different ideas about the MAIN PURPOSES OF A COLLEGE
224. EDUCATION. Rate the ideas listed below according to their importance to you by checking one of the three lines by each statement.

			High importance	Medium importance	Low importance
217.	a.	Provide vocational training; that is develop skills which are directly applicable to your job.	1 __	2 __	3 __
218.	b.	Develop your abilities to get along with different kinds of people.	1 __	2 __	3 __
219.	c.	Develop your knowledge and interests in community, national and world problems.	1 __	2 __	3 __
220.	d.	Develop your morals and values.	1 __	2 __	3 __
221.	e.	Prepare you for a happy marriage and family life.	1 __	2 __	3 __
222.	f.	Develop skills which will enable you to earn a high income.	1 __	2 __	3 __
223.	g.	Develop your understanding of science or the arts.	1 __	2 __	3 __
224.	h.	Provide social and athletic activities.	1 __	2 __	3 __

225. Which one of the above goals is most important to you? (Circle the letter corresponding to the goal.)

a b c d e f g h

226-230. What would you most prefer in a job? (Rank in order of importance to you from 1 to 5, using 1 for the most important.)

__ high income
__ no danger of being fired
__ short working hours and lots of free time
__ chances for advancement
__ the work gives a feeling of accomplishment

231. Check the category which comes closest to your feeling about yourself. (Check only one.)

1 __ I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely
2 __ there are many things I'd like to change, but not completely
3 __ I'd like to stay very much the same; there is very little I would change

232-243. How much do you worry about . . .? (Check one for each issue.)

		A great deal	Somewhat	Never
232.	International problems	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
233.	Deciding on a vocation	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
234.	Doing well in school	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
235.	Getting into college	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
236.	Getting a job, if you will not go on to college	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
237.	Making friends in high school	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
238.	Being popular with members of the opposite sex	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
239.	Finding someone you can love and will want to marry	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
240.	Getting along with your parents	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
241.	Having enough money	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
242.	Being well dressed	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______
243.	Your morals and values	1 ______	2 ______	3 ______

244- 253. Some problems which may arise for you are listed below. For each, indicate the one person you would rely upon most for advice and guidance. (Check only one person for each problem.)

		Teacher	Mother	Father	Brother or Sister	Friends	Guidance counselor	Clergyman
244.	School grades	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
245.	Career plans	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
246.	Personal problems with parents	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
247.	Personal problems not involving parents	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
248.	Morals and values	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
249.	Dating	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
250.	Getting into college	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
251.	What clothing to buy	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
252.	What books to read	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
253.	Choice of friends	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __

254. Do you think that your time now in school should be mostly . . .? (Check only one.)

1 __ a time for enjoying yourself since you are young only once
2 __ a time for working hard in preparation for the future

255- 256. Young people have some disagreements with their parents about certain things. What are the things about which you have experienced most conflict and disagreement with your mother this past year?

____

____

257- 258. What are the things about which you have experienced most conflict and disagreement with your father this past year?

____

____

259-
270. In your opinion, how important is each of the following things for an adolescent?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
259. Be a leader in extracurricular activities	1 __	2 __	3 __
260. Have a good reputation	1 __	2 __	3 __
261. Do things together with the rest of the family	1 __	2 __	3 __
262. Work hard on studies	1 __	2 __	3 __
263. Participate in sports	1 __	2 __	3 __
264. Go out on dates	1 __	2 __	3 __
265. Be popular in school	1 __	2 __	3 __
266. Do serious reading	1 __	2 __	3 __
267. Earn some money	1 __	2 __	3 __
268. Plan for the future	1 __	2 __	3 __
269. Help around the house	1 __	2 __	3 __
270. Respect your parents	1 __	2 __	3 __

75	76	77	78	79	80
					3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ASK ABOUT YOUR FAMILY LIFE.

310. Are your real parents living? (Check one.)

1 __ both living
2 __ only mother living
3 __ only father living
4 __ neither living

311- Check all the persons who live in
319. your home. (Check as many as apply.)

311. __ mother
312. __ father
313. __ stepmother
314. __ stepfather
315. __ brother(s)
316. __ sister(s)
317. __ grandmother
318. __ grandfather
319. __ other (Who? ________________)

IF YOU ARE NOW LIVING WITH BOTH REAL PARENTS, SKIP TO QUESTION 323.

320. Was your home broken by:

1 __ death of one parent
2 __ death of both parents
3 __ divorce
4 __ separation of parents

321. If your home was broken by death of a parent, divorce, or separation, how long ago did this happen?

______________________ years ago

322. If you are now living with a step-parent, how long ago did your parent remarry?

______________________ years ago

ALL STUDENTS ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

(If you are living with a stepparent, answer all remaining questions as if he or she were your real parent. Also answer for stepbrothers and stepsisters as if they were your real brothers or sisters.)

323- 324. How many brothers and sisters do you have altogether? (Circle the number.)

323. brothers 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

324. sisters 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

(325.)

326. Are you . . .? (Check only one.)

1 __ an only child
2 __ the oldest child in your family
3 __ the youngest child in your family
4 __ between the youngest and oldest
5 __ twin

327- 328. What is your father's occupation (or if he is retired or deceased, what was it before)? Give a full answer, such as "high school chemistry teacher", "welder in an aircraft factory", "president of a small automobile agency", "manager of a large department store".

____

____

329. Does your mother have a paid job (Check one.)

1 __ yes, full-time outside the home
2 __ yes, full-time in the home
3 __ yes, part-time outside the home
4 __ yes, part-time in the home
5 __ no

330- 331. If working, what does she do? Be as specific as you can.

____

332- 333. How much formal education did your parents have? (Check one for each parent.)

Father	Mother	
1 __	1 __	some grade school
2 __	2 __	finished grade school
3 __	3 __	some high school
4 __	4 __	finished high school
5 __	5 __	some college
6 __	6 __	finished college
7 __	7 __	attended graduate school or professional school after college
8 __	8 __	don't know

(334-335.)

336. Do your parents ever disagree with each other about whether you should be punished, or about the kind of punishment you should get? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, very often
2 __ frequently
3 __ sometimes
4 __ very seldom
5 __ never

337. When your parents disagree about something that should be done, which one usually gets his (or her) way about it? (Check one.)

1 __ mother, usually
2 __ mother, more often
3 __ about the same
4 __ father, more often
5 __ father, usually

338. Which parent disciplines, punishes, or corrects you more often? (Check one.)

1 __ father, much more
2 __ father, a little more
3 __ about the same
4 __ mother, a little more
5 __ mother, much more

339. How are most decisions made between you and your mother? (Check one.)

1 __ my mother just tells me what to do
2 __ she listens to me, but she makes the final decision herself
3 __ we make the decision jointly
4 __ I listen to her, but I make the final decision
5 __ I just decide what I will do myself

340. When you don't know why your mother makes a particular decision or has certain rules for you to follow, will she explain the reason? (Check one.)

1 __ never
2 __ once in a while
3 __ sometimes
4 __ usually
5 __ yes, always

341. Are there many things that you enjoy doing with your mother? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, almost everything
2 __ many things
3 __ quite a few things
4 __ hardly anything
5 __ nothing

342. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your mother? (Check one.)

1 __ none of them
2 __ very few of them
3 __ some of them
4 __ most of them
5 __ all of them

343. Would you like to be the kind of person your mother is? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, completely
2 __ in most ways
3 __ in many ways
4 __ in just a few ways
5 __ not at all

344. How close is your relationship with your mother? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely close
2 __ quite close
3 __ moderately close
4 __ not particularly close
5 __ not at all close

345. How are most decisions made between you and your father? (Check one.)

1 __ my father just tells me what to do
2 __ he listens to me, but he makes the final decision himself
3 __ we make the decision jointly
4 __ I listen to him, but I make the final decision
5 __ I just decide what I will do myself

346. When you don't know why your father makes a particular decision or has certain rules for you to follow, will he explain the reason? (Check one.)

1 __ never
2 __ once in a while
3 __ sometimes
4 __ usually
5 __ yes, always

347. Are there many things that you enjoy doing with your father? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, almost everything
2 __ many things
3 __ quite a few things
4 __ hardly anything
5 __ nothing

348. Do you feel that you can talk over your personal problems with your father? (Check one.)

1 __ none of them
2 __ very few of them
3 __ some of them
4 __ most of them
5 __ all of them

349. Would you like to be the kind of person your father is? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, completely
2 __ in most ways
3 __ in many ways
4 __ in just a few ways
5 __ not at all

350. How close is your relationship with your father? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely close
2 __ quite close
3 __ moderately close
4 __ not particularly close
5 __ not at all close

351. Whose company do you enjoy more, your best friends' or your parents'? (Check one.)

1 __ parents', much more
2 __ parents', a little more
3 __ about equal
4 __ best friends', a little more
5 __ best friends', much more

352. When you have problems, whose ideas and opinions do you respect more, your mother's or your best friends'? (Check one.)

1 __ mother's, much more
2 __ mother's, a little more
3 __ about equal
4 __ best friends', a little more
5 __ best friends', much more

353. When you have problems, whose ideas and opinions do you respect more, your father's or your best friends'? (Check one.)

1 __ father's, much more
2 __ father's, a little more
3 __ about equal
4 __ best friends', a little more
5 __ best friends', much more

354. As you think back, do you remember any special things your family has done together that were lots of fun, such as trips and vacations, celebrations, or other special events? (Check one.)

1 __ no, nothing
2 __ very few things
3 __ some things
4 __ quite a few things
5 __ very many things

355. How often do all the members of your family who live at home eat the evening meal together? (Check one.)

1 __ always
2 __ usually
3 __ rarely
4 __ never

356. How often, on the average, do you or your family get together with relatives? (Check one.)

1 __ several times a week
2 __ about once a week
3 __ about once a month
4 __ about once or twice a year
5 __ practically never or never

357-365. Some parents have rules for their teenage children, while others don't. (Check each item for which your parents have definite rules.)

357. __ time for being in at night on weekends
358. __ amount of dating
359. __ against going steady
360. __ time spent watching T.V.
361. __ time spent on homework
362. __ against going around with certain girls
363. __ against going around with certain boys
364. __ eating dinner with the family
365. __ no rules for any of the above items

366. Is it easier or harder for you to get along with your parents now than it was two or three years ago? (Check one.)

1 __ much easier
2 __ somewhat easier
3 __ somewhat harder
4 __ much harder
5 __ no change

367. Some young people think their parents are somewhat old-fashioned or out of step in their ways of looking at things. Are your parents like this? (Check one.)

1 __ almost always
2 __ quite often
3 __ once in a while
4 __ never

368. How long have you lived in this community? (Check one.)

1 __ less than one year
2 __ 1-2 years
3 __ 3-5 years
4 __ 6-10 years
5 __ more than 10 years

369. Where were you born? (Check one.)

1 __ in this state
2 __ outside this state but in the U.S.
3 __ outside the U.S. (Where? ____________________)

370- Where were your parents born?
371. (Check one for each parent.)

Father	Mother	
1 __	1 __	in this state
2 __	2 __	outside this state but in the U.S.
3 __	3 __	outside the U.S. (Where? ____________________)

372. What is your religious preference? (Check one.)

1 __ Protestant (What denomination? ____________________)
2 __ Roman Catholic
3 __ Jewish
4 __ other (What? ____________)

373. How often do you attend religious services? (Check one.)

1 __ every week
2 __ 1 to 3 times a month
3 __ less than once a month
4 __ never

374. My family's total yearly income is approximately: (Check one.)

1 __ under $2,500
2 __ $2,500 - $4,999
3 __ $5,000 - $7,499
4 __ $7,500 - $9,999
5 __ $10,000 - $14,999
6 __ $15,000 or more
7 __ I don't know

375- Where were your mother's parents
376. born? (Check one for each maternal grandparent.)

Mother's father	Mother's mother	
1 __	1 __	in this state
2 __	2 __	outside this state but in the U.S.
3 __	3 __	outside the U.S. (Where? __________)

377- Where were your father's parents
378. born? (Check one for each paternal grandparent.)

Father's father	Father's mother	
1 __	1 __	in this state
2 __	2 __	outside this state but in the U.S.
3 __	3 __	outside the U.S. (Where? __________)

79	80
	4

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

410. Do you have a job outside of school? (Check one.)

1 __ no
__ yes

If yes, how many hours per week do you work? (Check one.)

2 __ less than 5 hours
3 __ 5 to 9 hours
4 __ 10 to 19 hours
5 __ 20 hours or more

411. Does your family do many things together, as a whole family? (Check one.)

1 __ very often
2 __ frequently
3 __ sometimes
4 __ almost never
5 __ never

412. Are your opinions about most things similar to the opinions of your parents, or are they different? (Check one.)

1 __ opinions are similar
2 __ opinions are different

413. Do your parents give you as much freedom as you think you should have? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, both do
2 __ mother does
3 __ father does
4 __ neither does

414. How much do you depend on your mother for advice and guidance? (Check one.)

1 __ not at all
2 __ a little
3 __ quite a bit
4 __ very much
5 __ completely

415. How much do you depend on your father for advice and guidance? (Check one.)

1 __ not at all
2 __ a little
3 __ quite a bit
4 __ very much
5 __ completely

416. What type of music do you like best? (Check only one.)

1 __ twist
2 __ other popular music
3 __ jazz
4 __ classical
5 __ folk music

417. About how many evenings a week do you spend at home? (Circle the number.)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

418-419. What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?

____

____

____

420-421. Of the teachers at this school whom you know, how do you think most of them would rate you as a student? (Check the choices which best complete the phrase.)

(__bright) (__works hard)
A(__average) student who (__works an average amount)
(__poor) (__doesn't work hard)

422. Do you think that . . .? (Check one.)

1 __ it takes a great deal of personal effort to do your homework
2 __ it is just a matter of following the teacher's instructions

423-439. Below is a list of true-false statements about high schools. You are to decide which statements are characteristic of your high school and which are not. Circle T when the statement is mostly true as a description and circle F when it is mostly false as a description. (Give only one response to each item.) Your answers should tell us how things really are here rather than what you would like them to be. PLEASE DO NOT OMIT ANY ITEM.

		True	False
423.	Students seldom get together on their own time to talk about things they have learned in class.	T	F
424.	It takes more than memorizing what's in the textbook to get an "A" in courses here.	T	F
425.	Students here value individualism; that is, being different from others.	T	F
426.	Clear and careful thinking are most important in getting a good grade on reports, papers, discussions, and tests.	T	F
427.	Pull and bluff get students through some courses here.	T	F
428.	There is a lot of interest here in learning for its own sake, rather than just for grades or for graduation credits.	T	F
429.	Few students try hard to get on the honor roll.	T	F
430.	Teachers do nothing more than repeat what's in the textbook in many classes here.	T	F
431.	Most students here don't do much reading.	T	F
432.	There is not much emphasis by teachers here on preparing for college.	T	F
433.	Teachers here encourage students to value knowledge for its own sake, rather than just for grades.	T	F
434.	There is a lot of competition for grades here.	T	F
435.	Teachers here are really skillful at getting students to work to the limit of their ability.	T	F
436.	Students here are very much aware of the competition to get into college.	T	F
437.	Most students here dress and act pretty much alike.	T	F
438.	Teachers here often present more material than the students can handle.	T	F
439.	A lot of students here are content just to get by.	T	F

440-441. How much do you personally admire students who are very bright in school, and how much do other students in this school admire students who are very bright? (Check one in each column.)

Do you personally	Do other students
1 ___ admire brightness very much	1 ___ admire brightness very much
2 ___ admire brightness a little	2 ___ admire brightness a little
3 ___ don't admire it at all	3 ___ don't admire it at all

442. Suppose that an able student in this school who had planned to go to college suddenly decided not to go. What do you think would be the reaction of most teachers in this school to the student's change of plans? (Check one.)

1 ___ they would be very disappointed and would strongly encourage the student to go to college
2 ___ they would probably be disappointed but would not say anything to the student
3 ___ they wouldn't care whether or not the student attended college

443. How many different teachers do you have in a week? (Write in the number on the line.)

____

444. My time in this school has been . . . (Check only one.)

1 ___ filled with fun
2 ___ interesting and filled with hard work
3 ___ fairly pleasant
4 ___ somewhat dull
5 ___ unhappy

445. How important is it to you to be dressed in the same style as most other students in the school? (Check one.)

1 ___ very important
2 ___ somewhat important
3 ___ not important

446. Do you feel that your parents should treat you more like an adult than they do at present? (Check one.)

1 ___ yes
2 ___ no

447. Do you think that most of the important things that happen to people are: (Check one.)

1 ___ more the result of circumstances beyond their control
2 ___ more the result of their own efforts

448. Can you use your parents' car? (Check one.)

1 ___ anytime I want it
2 ___ often
3 ___ sometimes
4 ___ never
5 ___ my parents have no car
6 ___ no driver's license

449. Estimate the number of books in your home. (Check one.)

1 ___ none or few (0-25)
2 ___ one bookcase full (26-100)
3 ___ two bookcases full (101-250)
4 ___ three or four bookcases full (251-500)
5 ___ a room full -- a library (501 or more)

450. Is it easier for a boy to get to be important and well known among students here by making friends with a very popular boy or by dating a very popular girl? (Check one.)

1 __ making friends with a popular boy
2 __ dating a popular girl

451. Do you go steady?

1 __ yes
2 __ no

452. Is that person . . . (Check one.)

1 __ in this school?
2 __ in another school?
3 __ graduated, and not in college?
4 __ graduated, and in college?
5 __ dropped out of school?

(453.)

80
5

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED, PLEASE HAND YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCH WORKER.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL CLIMATES

conducted by

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Parents' Questionnaire

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

This questionnaire is to be answered by the mother. If the child's mother is not living in the same home as the child, the questionnaire should be answered by the adult family member or guardian who cares for him, preferably his stepmother or his father.

Most of the questions can be answered by a check on the line (like this: ✓) or by numbers on short lines (like this: 3). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers on the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office. If you would like to elaborate on any question, use the blank space on the last page.

IF YOU HAVE MORE THAN ONE CHILD IN HIGH SCHOOL, ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS FOR THE OLDEST ONE ATTENDING NASHOBA REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL.

Certain questions are slightly different for parents of boys and for parents of girls. If the child for whom you are answering the questionnaire is a boy, do not answer parts of questions about girls. If the child for whom you are answering the questionnaire is a girl, do not answer parts of questions about boys.

10. Questionnaire is filled out by:

1 __ mother
2 __ father
3 __ stepmother
4 __ stepfather
5 __ other adult (specify ________)

11. What is the sex of the child (the oldest one) attending Nashoba Regional High School about whom you will be answering the questions below? (Check one.)

1 __ boy
2 __ girl

12. What grade is your child in during this school year 1964-65? (Check one.)

1 __ 9th grade
2 __ 10th grade
3 __ 11th grade
4 __ 12th grade

13. Do you get after your child to do well in his work? (Check one.)

1 __ I put on a lot of pressure
2 __ I get after him quite a bit
3 __ I urge him, but not strongly
4 __ I let him do what he wants about it
5 __ I don't care what he does about school

14. What do you think of your child's friends in high school? (Check one.)

1 __ I approve of them very much
2 __ I approve for the most part
3 __ I disapprove slightly
4 __ I disapprove very much
5 __ I do not know them

15. How important is it to you that your child be well liked by other students in the school? (Check one.)

1 __ very important
2 __ somewhat important
3 __ not important

16-17. **If your son or daughter could be outstanding in high school in one of the three things listed below, which one would you want it to be? (If you have a boy in the high school, check below.)**

1 __ brilliant student
2 __ athletic star
3 __ most popular

(If you have a girl in the high school, check below.)

1 __ brilliant student
2 __ leader in activities
3 __ most popular

18-22. **Rank the five items below in the order of their importance as things you would like to see your child accomplish in his or her life. (Rank from 1 to 5, using 1 for the highest in importance, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest, 4 for the fourth highest, and 5 for the lowest.)**

__ a healthy, financially secure family life
__ be outstanding in his chosen field of work
__ be a respected citizen in his community
__ do what gives him the most personal satisfaction
__ reach a high social standing

23-24. **If it were completely up to you, what one job would you like your child to have 15 years from now? (Be specific; for example, saleslady, nurse, housewife, school teacher, electrical engineer, dentist, etc.)**

____

25. **Do you exert much pressure on your child to follow this particular choice or do you leave it up to the child? (Check one.)**

1 __ put much pressure
2 __ put some pressure
3 __ leave it up to the child

26-27. **Thinking realistically, what job do you think your child will actually hold 15 years from now? (Be specific.)**

____

28-31. **Among the things teen-agers strive for during their high school days, just how important do you think each of these should be? (Rank from 1 through 4: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest, and 4 for the lowest.)**

__ pleasing their parents
__ learning as much as possible in school
__ living up to religious ideals
__ being accepted and liked by other students

32-42. **Among the group that your child goes around with in school, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular? (Check as many as apply.)**

32. a __ be a good dancer
33. b __ have smart clothes
34. c __ have a good reputation
35. d __ get good grades
36. e __ stir up a little excitement
37. f __ have money
38. g __ be a leader in extracurricular activities
39. h __ know what's going on in the world of popular singers, T.V., and movie stars
40. i __ be athletic, interested in sports
41. j __ be a good friend
42. k __ have a pleasant personality

43-53. **Among the things above that you have checked, are there any that you wish they wouldn't emphasize so much? If so, please circle below the letters referring to those items.**

a b c d e f g h i j k

43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53

54-60. Which of the categories below do you think come closest to fitting the majority of teachers in your child's high school? (Check as many as apply.)

__ friendly
__ too strict
__ too easy with school work
__ understand problems of teen-agers
__ not interested in teen-agers
__ bored with their job
__ willing to help out in activities

61. How often in the past school year have you spoken to your child's teachers? (Check one.)

1 __ never
2 __ 1-2 times
3 __ 3-5 times
4 __ 6-9 times
5 __ 10 times or over

62. How often in the past school year have you attended PTA meetings?

1 __ regularly
2 __ seldom
3 __ never

63. What is the highest level of education you would like your child to complete? (Check only one.)

1 __ high school
2 __ two-year college
3 __ a bachelor's degree (4 years) only
4 __ a professional degree (Medicine, Law, etc.) or a Doctorate (Ph.D.) (for example in physics, English, etc.)

64-70. If your child is a girl, skip this question.
In your opinion, among the items below, what should it take for a boy to get to be important and looked up to by the other boys in school? Rank the three most important items from 1 through 3: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest and 3 for the third highest.

__ coming from the right family
__ leader in activities
__ having a nice car
__ high grades, honor roll
__ being an athletic star
__ knowing a great deal about intellectual matters
__ someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings

71-77. If your child is a boy, skip this question.
In your opinion, among the items below, what should it take for a girl to be important and looked up to by the other girls in school? Rank the three most important items from 1 through 3: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest and 3 for the third highest.

__ coming from the right family
__ leader in activities
__ having smart clothes
__ high grades, honor roll
__ being a cheerleader
__ knowing a great deal about intellectual matters
__ someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings

78. If it were completely up to you, would you prefer your child to . . . (Check one.)

1 __ stay in school until graduation
2 __ leave school before graduating
3 __ don't know

79	80
9	1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

110-111. What are the things about which you and your teen-ager have experienced most conflict and disagreement this past year?

____

____

112-123. In your opinion, how important is each of the following things for an adolescent? (Check only one for each item.)

		Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
112.	Be a leader in extra-curricular activities	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
113.	Have a good reputation	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
114.	Do things together with the rest of the family	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
115.	Work hard on studies	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
116.	Participate in sports	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
117.	Go out on dates	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
118.	Be popular in school	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
119.	Do serious reading	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
120.	Earn some money	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
121.	Plan for the future	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
122.	Help around the house	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
123.	Respect his parents	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___

124-133. Some areas in which problems may arise for teen-agers are listed below. For each, indicate the one person a teen-ager should rely upon most for advice and guidance. (Check only one person for each problem.)

		Teacher	Mother	Father	Brother or Sister	Friends	Guidance counselor	Clergy-man
124.	School grades	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
125.	Career plans	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
126.	Personal problems with parents	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
127.	Personal problems not involving parents	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
128.	Morals and values	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
129.	Dating	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
130.	Getting into college	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
131.	What clothing to buy	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
132.	What books to read	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___
133.	Choice of friends	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___	6 ___	7 ___

134-142. Check below the rules which you have for your teen-age children. (Check as many as apply.)

134. __ time for being in at night on weekends
135. __ amount of dating
136. __ against going steady
137. __ time spent watching T.V.
138. __ time spent on homework
139. __ against going around with certain boys
140. __ against going around with certain girls
141. __ eating dinner with the family
142. __ no rules for any of the above items

143-147. Among the possibilities listed below, which do you prefer in a job for your child? (Rank in order of importance from 1 to 5, using 1 for the most important.)

__ high income
__ no danger of being fired
__ short working hours and lots of free time
__ chances for advancement
__ the work is important and gives a feeling of accomplishment

148. Some parents feel that they do not understand their teen-age children. Do you ever feel this way? (Check one.)

1 __ almost always
2 __ quite often
3 __ once in a while
4 __ never

149. Some parents feel that they cannot keep up with their teen-age children. These parents feel out of step with their children's ways of looking at things. Do you ever feel this way? (Check one.)

1 __ almost always
2 __ quite often
3 __ once in a while
4 __ never

150. Are the things that are important to you different from the things that are important to your child's friends? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, most of them
2 __ yes, some of them
3 __ no

151-152. How much schooling do you think most young men and women need these days to get along well in the world? (Check one for each.)

Men Women

1 __ 1 __ more than college
2 __ 2 __ college
3 __ 3 __ high school education
4 __ 4 __ grammar school education

153-158. What three activities in your life give you the most satisfaction? Rank the three most important to you from 1 to 3: 1 for the highest in importance, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest.

__ husband's career or occupation or own career
__ family relationships
__ leisure-time recreational activities
__ religious beliefs or activities
__ participation as a citizen in the affairs of your community
__ participation in activities directed toward national and international betterment

159. Do you think that most of the important things that happen to people are: (Check one.)

1 __ more the result of circumstances beyond their control
2 __ more the result of their own efforts

160-167. **Different people have different ideas about the MAIN PURPOSES OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION. Rate the ideas listed below according to their importance to you by checking one of the three lines by each statement.**

	High importance	Medium importance	Low importance
160. a. Provide vocational training; that is develop skills which are directly applicable to a job	1 __	2 __	3 __
161. b. Develop abilities to get along with different kinds of people	1 __	2 __	3 __
162. c. Develop knowledge and interests in community, national, and world problems	1 __	2 __	3 __
163. d. Develop morals and values	1 __	2 __	3 __
164. e. Prepare the student for a happy marriage and family life	1 __	2 __	3 __
165. f. Develop skills which will enable the student to earn a high income	1 __	2 __	3 __
166. g. Develop understanding of science or the arts	1 __	2 __	3 __
167. h. Provide social and athletic activities	1 __	2 __	3 __

168. **Which one of the above goals is most important to you? (Circle the letter corresponding to the goal.)**

a b c d e f g h

169. **The BEST way to get ahead in life is to: (Check only one.)**

1 __ work hard
2 __ have a pleasant personality and be likeable
3 __ know the right poeple
4 __ save your money
5 __ get a college education
6 __ be a person with a special talent such as an actor, good athlete or singer

170. **Check the category which comes closest to your feeling about yourself. (Check one.)**

1 __ I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely
2 __ There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely
3 __ I'd like to stay very much the same; there is very little I would change

79	80
9	2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

210-223. When you are making new friends, how important to you is each of these qualities in a person? (Check one of the three alternatives for each quality.)

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
210. Comes from the right family	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
211. Is active in community affairs	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
212. Has money	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
213. Has common interests	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
214. Knows a great deal about intellectual matters	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
215. Has an important job	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
216. Is someone to whom you can turn when you need help	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
217. Is someone in whom you can confide inner thoughts and feelings	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
218. Has nice clothes	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
219. Knows what is happening in the world of entertainment	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
220. Knows what is happening in the world of politics	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
221. Has children the same age as your children	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
222. Entertains a lot	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
223. Has high moral standards, good character	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___

224. About how much time, on the average, do you watch T.V. on a weekday? (Check one.)

1 ___ none or almost none
2 ___ about 1/2 hour a day
3 ___ about 1 hour a day
4 ___ about 1 1/2 hours a day
5 ___ about 2 hours a day
6 ___ 3 or more hours a day

225. What type of music do you like best? (Check only one.)

1 ___ twist
2 ___ other popular music
3 ___ jazz
4 ___ classical
5 ___ folk music

226. Do you do much serious reading? (Check one.)

1 __ a great deal
2 __ much
3 __ some
4 __ little or none

227. Do you enjoy talking about international and national affairs? (Check one.)

1 __ very much
2 __ a little
3 __ not at all

228-230. People often have very different ideas about what can be expected in life. Rank the following alternatives from 1 through 3 in the order of your agreement with them.

__ I believe that man's greatest concern should be with the present time in which he lives.

__ I believe that we should try to keep up the ways of the past and to bring them back when they are lost.

__ I believe in the ways of the future. I think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead and work so that the future will be better.

231. How long have you lived in this community? (Check one.)

1 __ less than one year
2 __ 1-2 years
3 __ 3-5 years
4 __ 6-10 years
5 __ more than 10 years

232. How close do you feel to this community? (Check one.)

1 __ I feel that I belong here and that this is my home community
2 __ I feel quite close to this community but do not consider it to be my home
3 __ I do not feel very close to this community
4 __ I feel like a complete stranger in this community

233-242. Does any adult in your family belong to any community organizations, like clubs, lodges, veterans', sports, or church groups? (Check as many as apply.)

233. __ fraternal organizations (Elks, etc.)
234. __ veterans' organizations (American Legion, V.F.W., etc.)
235. __ civic or service clubs (Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)
236. __ religious social groups (Knights of Columbus, etc.)
237. __ hobby or sports groups
238. __ youth organizations (YMCA, Scouts, etc.)
239. __ P.T.A.
240. __ country club
241. __ labor union
242. __ other (What? ________________)

243. What is your religious preference? (Check one.)

1 __ Protestant (What denomination? ________________)
2 __ Roman Catholic
3 __ Jewish
4 __ other (What? ______________)

244-245. How much formal education did your husband and you have? (Check one for each parent.)

Husband	Wife	
1 __	1 __	some grade school
2 __	2 __	finished grade school
3 __	3 __	some high school
4 __	4 __	finished high school
5 __	5 __	some college
6 __	6 __	finished college
7 __	7 __	attended graduate school or professional school after college

(246-247)

248. Do you (the mother) have a paid job? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, full-time job outside the home
2 __ yes, full-time job in the home
3 __ yes, part-time job outside the home
4 __ yes, part-time job in the home
5 __ no

249-250. If working, what do you do? Be as specific as you can.

____

251. If now working, does your family have any objections to this?

1 __ yes
2 __ no

252-253. What is the occupation of your husband: What does he do? (Or if he is retired or deceased, what was it before?) Give a full answer, such as "high school chemistry teacher", "welder in an aircraft factory", etc.

____

254-255. How satisfied are you with the kind of work your husband does and the kind of work you yourself are doing?

Husband	Wife	
1 __	1 __	completely satisfied
2 __	2 __	satisfied in most ways
3 __	3 __	somewhat dissatisfied
4 __	4 __	very dissatisfied
5 __	5 __	is not working

256-257. If you are dissatisfied with the kind of work your husband is doing, what ideally would you have liked him to do?

____

258-259. If you are dissatisfied with the kind of work you are doing, what ideally would you have liked to do?

____

260-261. What kind of work did your husband's father do for a living while your husband was growing up?

____

262-263. In what country and state were you and your husband born?

Husband	Wife	
1 __	1 __	in this state
2 __	2 __	outside this state but in the U.S.
3 __	3 __	outside the U.S. (Where? ____________)

264. What is your marital status?

1 __ married
2 __ widowed
3 __ divorced
4 __ separated

265. Are the child's real parents living? (Check one.)

1 __ both living
2 __ only mother living
3 __ only father living
4 __ neither living

266. If the child's home was broken by death of a parent, divorce, or separation, how long ago did this happen?

1 __ death ____ years ago
2 __ divorce ____ years ago
3 __ separation ____ years ago

267. If the child is now living with a stepparent, how long ago did the real parent remarry?

________________ years ago

268-276. Check all the persons who live in your home in addition to your child. (Check as many as apply.)

268. __ child's mother
269. __ child's father
270. __ child's stepmother
271. __ child's stepfather
272. __ child's brother(s)
273. __ child's sister(s)
274. __ child's grandmother
275. __ child's grandfather
276. __ other (Who? ________________)

77	78	79	80
		9	3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

310-311. How many children do you have?

Number of boys __
Number of girls __

312-313. How many children do you have in high school?

Boys in high school __
Girls in high school __

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ASK ABOUT YOUR FAMILY LIFE. If the child's step-parent is living in the home, answer as if he or she were the child's real parent. If one of the parents is not alive or is not living in the home, indicate so when appropriate.

314-315. How do you (and your husband) feel about your child going to college? (Check one for each.)

Husband	Wife	
1 __	1 __	strongly encouraged him (or her) to go
2 __	2 __	wants him (or her) to go but has not strongly encouraged him (or her)
3 __	3 __	does not care one way or the other
4 __	4 __	does not want him (or her) to go to college
5 __	5 __	parent not living or has no contact with child

316. Who disciplines, punishes, or corrects your child more often? (Check one.)

1 __ father much more
2 __ father a little more
3 __ about the same
4 __ mother a little more
5 __ mother much more

317. How are most decisions made between you (the mother) and your child? (Check one.)

1 __ I tell him what to do
2 __ I listen to him, but I make the final decision myself
3 __ we make the decision jointly
4 __ my child listens to me, but he makes the final decision
5 __ my child just decides what he will do himself

318. When your child doesn't know why you make a particular decision or have certain rules for him to follow, do you explain the reason?

1 __ never
2 __ once in a while
3 __ sometimes
4 __ usually
5 __ yes, always

319. Are there many things that your child enjoys doing with you (the mother)? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, almost everything
2 __ many things
3 __ quite a few things
4 __ hardly anything
5 __ nothing

320. How much does your child depend on you (the mother) for advice and guidance? (Check one.)

1 __ not at all
2 __ a little
3 __ quite a bit
4 __ very much
5 __ completely

321. How close is your relationship with your child? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely close
2 __ quite close
3 __ moderately close
4 __ not particularly close
5 __ not at all close

322. How are most decisions made between your husband and your child? (Check one.)

1 __ my husband just tells him what to do
2 __ my husband listens to him, but my husband makes the final decision himself
3 __ they make the decision jointly
4 __ my child listens to my husband, but he makes the final decision
5 __ my child just decides what he will do himself

323. When your child doesn't know why your husband makes a particular decision or has certain rules for him to follow, does he explain the reason? (Check one.)

1 __ never
2 __ once in a while
3 __ sometimes
4 __ usually
5 __ yes, always

324. Are there many things that your child enjoys doing with your husband? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, almost everything
2 __ many things
3 __ quite a few things
4 __ hardly anything
5 __ nothing

325. How much does your child depend on your husband for advice and guidance? (Check one.)

1 __ not at all
2 __ a little
3 __ quite a bit
4 __ very much
5 __ completely

326. How close is your husband's relationship with your child? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely close
2 __ quite close
3 __ moderately close
4 __ not particularly close
5 __ not at all close

327-336. In every family somebody has to decide such things as where the family will live and so on. Many couples talk such things over first, but the final decision often has to be made by the husband or the wife. For instance, in your family, who usually makes the final decision about . . .? (Check one for each situation.)

	Husband always	Husband more than wife	Husband and wife exactly the same	Wife more than husband	Wife always
327. What car to get	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
328. Whether or not to buy some life insurance	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
329. What house or apartment to take	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
330. What job the husband should take	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
331. Whether or not you (the wife) should go to work or quit work	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
332. How much money your family can afford to spend per week on food	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
333. What doctor to have when someone is sick	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
334. Where to go on vacation	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __
335. What your child should be allowed to do	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __

336. Do you ever disagree with your husband about what your child should be allowed to do? (Check one.)

1 __ yes, very often
2 __ frequently
3 __ sometimes
4 __ very seldom
5 __ never

337. On the average weekday, about how much time do you spend talking with your husband, regardless of who is present? (Check one.)

1 __ less than 15 minutes
2 __ 15 minutes to half an hour
3 __ half an hour to an hour
4 __ one hour to two hours
5 __ two to four hours
6 __ more than four hours

338. How often do all the members of your family who live at home eat the evening meal together? (Check one.)

1 __ always
2 __ usually
3 __ rarely
4 __ never

339. How often, on the average, do you or your family get together with relatives? (Check one.)

1 __ several times a week
2 __ about once a week
3 __ about once a month
4 __ about once or twice a year
5 __ practically never or never

ANSWER THE TWO QUESTIONS BELOW ONLY IF YOU WISH

340. Check the group into which your family's total income falls.

1 __ under $2,500
2 __ $2,500-$4,999
3 __ $5,000-$7,499
4 __ $7,500-$9,999
5 __ $10,000-$14,999
6 __ $15,000 or more

341. How do you lean in national politics? (Check one.)

1 __ toward the more liberal Democrats
2 __ toward the more conservative Democrats
3 __ toward the more liberal Republicans
4 __ toward the more conservative Republicans
5 __ toward a third party (Which? ____________)

Besides the things you have mentioned above, is there anything about this town or this school that has a particularly important effect on the development of teen-agers, including your own?

Mention either positive or negative things. (Use the rest of this page, or if necessary, an added sheet, for comments.)

76	77	78	79	80
			9	4

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL CLIMATES

conducted by

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Teachers' Questionnaire

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

Most of the following questions can be answered by a check on a line like this: (✓), or by numbers on short lines (like this: 3). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers to the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers. If you would like to elaborate on any questions, use the blank space on the last page.

7-10. Among the things teen-agers strive for during their high school days, just how important do you think each of these should be? (Rank from 1 through 4: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest, and 4 for the lowest.)

__ pleasing their parents
__ learning as much as possible in school
__ living up to religious ideals
__ being accepted and liked by other students

11. If you could see any one of three boys elected president of the senior class, who would you rather it be?

1 __ brilliant student
2 __ an athletic star
3 __ most popular

12. If you could see any one of three girls elected president of the senior class, who would you rather it be?

1 __ brilliant student
2 __ leader in activities
3 __ most popular

13. In some schools, there seems to be one group that more or less runs things among the students. What about at this school? Is there one group that seems to be always in the middle of things, or are there several groups like that? (Check one.)

1 __ one group
2 __ two groups
3 __ three groups
4 __ more than three groups
5 __ no group

PLEASE ANSWER THE NEXT FIVE QUESTIONS WHICH PERTAIN TO YOUR JOB AS IT ACTUALLY IS, NOT AS YOU THINK IT SHOULD BE.

14. How much job security do you think you have as a teacher in this school? (Check one.)

1 __ no security
2 __ very little security
3 __ some security
4 __ very much security

15. How much opportunity to be helpful to other people does your position as a teacher provide for you? (Check one.)

1 __ no opportunity
2 __ very little opportunity
3 __ some opportunity
4 __ very much opportunity

16. How much prestige does your position as a teacher give you in the community where your school is located? (Check one.)

1 __ no prestige
2 __ very little prestige
3 __ some prestige
4 __ very much prestige

17. How much opportunity for independent thought and action does your position as a teacher allow you in your school activities? (Check one.)

1 __ no opportunity
2 __ very little opportunity
3 __ some opportunity
4 __ very much opportunity

18. How much opportunity for independent thought and action does your position as a teacher allow you out of school? (Check one.)

1 __ no opportunity
2 __ very little opportunity
3 __ some opportunity
4 __ very much opportunity

19. How much self-fulfillment (that is the feeling of being able to use one's unique capabilities, of realizing one's potential) does your position as a teacher provide for you? (Check one.)

1 __ no self-fulfillment
2 __ very little self-fulfillment
3 __ some self-fulfillment
4 __ very much self-fulfillment

20. If you had it to do over again, would you enter teaching? (Check one.)

1 __ definitely yes
2 __ probably yes
3 __ probably no
4 __ definitely no

21-22. If you are dissatisfied, what occupation would you choose? (Be specific.)

____

23. Do you think this high school has some special characteristic distinguishing it from other high schools?

1 __ no
2 __ yes (Please describe this characteristic ______________________
______________________________)

24-30. Which of the categories below do you think come closest to fitting the majority of teachers in this school? (Check as many as apply.)

__ friendly
__ too strict
__ too easy with schoolwork
__ understand problems of teen-agers
__ not interested in teen-agers
__ bored with their job
__ willing to help out in activities

31-37. Among the items below, what should it take for a boy to be important and looked up to by the other boys in this school? Rank the three most important items from 1 through 3: 1 for the highest in importance, 2 for the second highest and 3 for the third highest.

__ coming from the right family
__ leader in activities
__ having a nice car
__ high grades, honor roll
__ being an athletic star
__ knowing a great deal about intellectual matters
__ someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings

38-44. Among the items below, what should it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other girls here at school? Rank the three most important items from 1 through 3: 1 for the highest in importance, 2 for the second highest and 3 for the third highest.

__ coming from the right family
__ leader in activities
__ having smart clothes
__ high grades, honor roll
__ being popular
__ knowing a great deal about intellectual matters
__ someone in whom one can confide inner thoughts and feelings

45- 59. In which of the following areas would you say there are problems of discipline with the students in this school? (Check all items which are problems.)

45. __ stealing (small items of little value)
46. __ stealing of a serious nature (money, cars)
47. __ destruction of school property
48. __ sex offenses
49. __ impertinence and discourtesy to teachers
50. __ fighting
51. __ truancy
52. __ physical violence against teachers
53. __ using profane or obscene language
54. __ using narcotics
55. __ drinking intoxicants
56. __ copying homework
57. __ cheating on tests
58. __ creating classroom disorder or chaos
59. __ violation of school rule about smoking

59a. What does it take to get in with the leading crowd in this school?

____

____

60. Which of the following best characterizes the student body at this high school? (Check one.)

1 __ aptitude is high; ambition is high
2 __ aptitude is high; ambition is low
3 __ aptitude is low; ambition is high
4 __ aptitude is low; ambition is low

(61.)
62. In which one of the following subject areas do the students here seem to be most interested? (Check only one.)

1 __ science
2 __ social studies
3 __ English
4 __ foreign languages
5 __ music and art
6 __ mathematics

(63.)

64. Roughly, what percentage of the students in the senior class in this school are planning to attend college? (Write in the percentage on this line.)

____

(65.)
66. Suppose that an able student who had planned to go to college suddenly decided not to go. What would be your reaction to the student's change of plans? (Check one.)

1 __ I would be very disappointed and would strongly encourage the student to go to college
2 __ I would be disappointed but I would not say anything to the student
3 __ I would not care whether or not the student attends college

67- 69. Rank the statements below in the order of your agreement with them. (Rank from 1 to 3: 1 for the statement with which you agree most strongly, and so on.)

__ high school should be primarily a means of developing the intellectual capacities of the students.
__ high school should be primarily a means of providing all-round personal development.
__ high school should be primarily a means for providing practical job training.

(70-72.)
73. Which of the categories below comes closest to the attitude of most of the students toward the teachers in this school? (Check one.)

1 __ they feel close to the teachers; will confide in them; and feel that the teachers understand them.
2 __ they feel that the teachers are trying to help them, but don't really understand their problems.
3 __ they feel that the teachers are indifferent to their problems.
4 __ they are distrustful of the teachers and suspicious of their intentions.

74	75	76	77	78	79	80
						1

1	2	3	4	5	6

107-
116. Some problems which may arise for teen-agers are listed below. For each, indicate the one person a teen-ager should rely upon most for advice and guidance. (Check only one person for each problem.)

		Teacher	Mother	Father	Brother or Sister	Friends	Guidance counselor	Clergyman
107.	School grades	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
108.	Career plans	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
109.	Personal problems with parents	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
110.	Personal problems not involving parents	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
111.	Morals and values	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
112.	Dating	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
113.	Getting into college	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
114.	What clothing to buy	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
115.	What books to read	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __
116.	Choice of friends	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __	5 __	6 __	7 __

117-
128. In your opinion, how important is each of the following things for an adolescent? (Check only one for each item.)

		Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
117.	Be a leader in extracurricular activities	1 __	2 __	3 __
118.	Have a good reputation	1 __	2 __	3 __
119.	Do things together with the rest of his family	1 __	2 __	3 __
120.	Work hard on studies	1 __	2 __	3 __
121.	Participate in sports	1 __	2 __	3 __
122.	Go out on dates	1 __	2 __	3 __
123.	Be popular in school	1 __	2 __	3 __
124.	Do serious reading	1 __	2 __	3 __
125.	Earn some money	1 __	2 __	3 __
126.	Plan for the future	1 __	2 __	3 __
127.	Help around his house	1 __	2 __	3 __
128.	Respect his parents	1 __	2 __	3 __

129. How important is it to students in this school to get good grades? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely important
2 __ important
3 __ not important

(130.)
131. How satisfying is it to students in this school to work hard on studies? (Check one.)

1 __ extremely important
2 __ important
3 __ not important

(132.)
133. How much do students in this school admire students who are very bright? (Check one.)

1 __ admire brightness very much
2 __ admire brightness a little
3 __ don't admire it at all

(134.)

135- 147. Below is a list of different types of high school students. For each, indicate how much you like having this type of student in your class. (Check one alternative for each.)

		Like very much	Like somewhat	Dislike somewhat	Dislike very much	Am indifferent
135.	One who is brilliant	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
136.	One who is not popular with other students	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
137.	One who is academically slow	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
138.	One who is an athlete	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
139.	One who studies much	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
140.	One who does not study much	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
141.	One who comes from the right family	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
142.	One who is not an athlete	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
143.	One who is a leader in school activities	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
144.	One who is popular with other students	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
145.	One who is an average student	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
146.	One who belongs to the leading crowd	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___
147.	One who is well dressed	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	5 ___

148- 154. If you were completely free to do so, how would you change each of the following classroom practices in this school? (Check one alternative for each.)

		Have more	No change	Have less
148.	Individual guidance by the teacher	1 __	2 __	3 __
149.	Grouping of pupils by ability	1 __	2 __	3 __
150.	Independent work by the students	1 __	2 __	3 __
151.	Discipline	1 __	2 __	3 __
152.	Homework	1 __	2 __	3 __
153.	Discussion of controversial issues	1 __	2 __	3 __
154.	Others (What? ______________)	1 __	2 __	3 __

155- 169. **How do you feel about these policies or programs? For each one indicate by a check in the appropriate space whether it is something you think is highly desirable, desirable, undesirable or highly undesirable.**

	Highly desirable	Desirable	Undesirable	Highly undesirable
155. Pupils are separated into "bright" and "slow" classes	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
156. In the first seven grades pupils must meet specified academic standards in order to be promoted	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
157. A maximum class size of twenty-five in the first seven grades	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
158. Sex education in high schools	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
159. A great deal of emphasis on a program of extra-curricular activities	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
160. More clubs and leisure time activities outside of school	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
161. Some kind of psychological guidance facilities available to pupils	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
162. Numerical grading given on regular report cards in the first seven grades	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
163. Numerical grading in high school	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
164. Teachers act as advisors in extra-curricular activities	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
165. More emphasis is placed on developing individual interest of the pupil, rather than on teaching subject matter	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
166. Teacher participation in policy formation	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
167. Pupils regularly form into lines on the way to and from classes	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
168. Use of schools as neighborhood centers for teen-agers and adults	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __
169. Extensive use of psychological and mental tests	1 __	2 __	3 __	4 __

170. How would you categorize the majority of classes given at this school? (Place a check (√) in the box which best characterizes classes here.)

STRICT and FORMAL	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	RELAXED and INFORMAL

72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
								2

171. How would you rate the Parent-Teacher Organization at this high school? (Check one.)

1 __ both constructive and useful
2 __ mediocre or poor
3 __ a useless formality
4 __ an obstacle
5 __ parents not interested in the school

1	2	3	4	5	6

207-214. High school teachers have different ideas about the MAIN PURPOSES OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION. Rate the ideas listed below according to their importance to you by checking one of the three lines by each statement.

			High importance	Medium importance	Low importance
207.	a.	Provide vocational training; that is develop skills which are directly applicable to a job	1 __	2 __	3 __
208.	b.	Develop abilities to get along with different kinds of people	1 __	2 __	3 __
209.	c.	Develop knowledge and interests in community, national and world problems	1 __	2 __	3 __
210.	d.	Develop morals and values	1 __	2 __	3 __
211.	e.	Prepare the student for a happy marriage and family life	1 __	2 __	3 __
212.	f.	Develop skills which will enable the student to earn a high income	1 __	2 __	3 __
213.	g.	Develop understanding of science or the arts	1 __	2 __	3 __
214.	h.	Provide social and athletic activities	1 __	2 __	3 __

215. Which one of the above goals is most important to you? (Circle the letter corresponding to the goal.)

a b c d e f g h

216-232. Below is a list of true-false statements about high schools. You are to decide which statements are characteristic of your high school and which are not. Circle T when the statement is mostly true as a description and circle F when it is mostly false as a description. (Give only one response to each item.) Your answers should tell us how things really are here rather than what you would like them to be. PLEASE DO NOT OMIT ANY ITEM.

		True	False
216.	Students seldom get together on their own time to talk about things they have learned in class.	T	F
217.	It takes more than memorizing what's in the textbook to get an "A" in courses here.	T	F
218.	Students here value individualism; that is, being different from others.	T	F
219.	Clear and careful thinking are most important in getting a good grade on reports, papers, discussions, and tests.	T	F
220.	Pull and bluff get students through some courses here.	T	F
221.	There is a lot of interest here in learning for its own sake, rather than just for grades or for graduation credits.	T	F
222.	Few students try hard to get on the honor roll.	T	F
223.	Teachers do nothing more than repeat what's in the textbook in many classes here.	T	F
224.	Most students here don't do much reading.	T	F
225.	There is not much emphasis by teachers here on preparing for college.	T	F
226.	Teachers here encourage students to value knowledge for its own sake, rather than just for grades.	T	F
227.	There is a lot of competition for grades here.	T	F
228.	Teachers here are really skillful at getting students to work to the limit of their ability.	T	F
229.	Students here are very much aware of the competition to get into college.	T	F
230.	Most students here dress and act pretty much alike.	T	F
231.	Teachers here often present more material than the students can handle.	T	F
232.	A lot of students here are content just to get by.	T	F

233. Check the category which comes closest to your feeling about yourself. (Check only one.)

1 __ I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely
2 __ there are many things I'd like to change, but not completely
3 __ I'd like to stay very much the same; there is very little I would change

234-239. What three activities in your life give you the most satisfaction? Rank the 3 most important to you from 1 to 3: 1 for the highest in importance, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third.

__ your career
__ family relationships
__ leisure-time recreational activities
__ religious beliefs or activities
__ participation as a citizen in the affairs of your community
__ participation in activities directed toward national and international betterment

240-241. About how much schooling do you think most young men and women need these days to get along well in the world? (Check one.)

Men	Women	
1 __	1 __	more than college
2 __	2 __	college
3 __	3 __	high school education
4 __	4 __	grammar school education

242. Do you think that most of the important things that happen to people are: (Check one.)

1 __ more the result of circumstances beyond their control
2 __ more the result of their own efforts

243. The BEST way to get ahead in life is to: (Check only one.)

1 __ work hard
2 __ have a pleasant personality and be likeable
3 __ know the right people
4 __ save your money
5 __ get a college education
6 __ be a person with a special talent such as an actor, good athlete or singer

244. Do you enjoy talking about international and national affairs? (Check one.)

1 __ very much
2 __ a little
3 __ not at all

245. About how much time on the average do you spend watching T.V. on a weekday? (Check one.)

1 __ none or almost none
2 __ about 1/2 hour a day
3 __ about 1 hour a day
4 __ about 1 1/2 hours a day
5 __ about 2 hours a day
6 __ 3 or more hours a day

246. What type of music do you like best? (Check only one.)

1 __ twist
2 __ other popular music
3 __ jazz
4 __ classical
5 __ folk music

247. Do you do much serious reading? (Check one.)

1 __ a great deal
2 __ much
3 __ some
4 __ little or none

248. What is the highest degree you hold?

____

249. Have you taken supplementary courses?

1 __ no
2 __ yes (Which or in what field? ______
______________________________)

250-251. What major subject did you specialize in when in training and what subjects do you teach now?

Major subject	Subject taught now	
1 __	1 __	Mathematics
2 __	2 __	English
3 __	3 __	History, Geography
4 __	4 __	Physical or Biological Sciences
5 __	5 __	Guidance counseling
6 __	6 __	Social Sciences (e.g. Economics, Sociology)
7 __	7 __	Fine arts, Music
8 __	8 __	Foreign languages
9 __	9 __	Physical education
0 __	0 __	Education (other than Physical education)
x __	x __	Other (What? ______)

(252-267.)

268. How much of your teaching time here do you spend in teaching the subject for which you are best trained?

1 __ all teaching time
2 __ more than half-time
3 __ less than half-time
4 __ no teaching time

269. Are you required to teach any courses for which you have not had any formal training?

1 __ yes
2 __ no

269a. If yes: What courses are they?

____
____
____

270. Have you ever published, or are you in the process of publishing any fiction, non-fiction, or independent research, either in the form of an article for a journal, magazine, or a book? Please include any published material, no matter what the field or purpose.

1 __ yes
2 __ no

270a. If yes: Please indicate the type of publication.

____
____
____

271. How many years of experience as a teacher have you had? Count this year as one year of experience. (Check one.)

1 __ 1-2 years
2 __ 3-4 years
3 __ 5-9 years
4 __ 10-14 years
5 __ 15-19 years
6 __ 20-24 years
7 __ 25-34 years
8 __ 35-44 years
9 __ 45 or more years

272. How long have you been a teacher in this school? (Check one.)

1 __ 1-2 years
2 __ 3-4 years
3 __ 5-9 years
4 __ 10-14 years
5 __ 15-19 years
6 __ 20-24 years
7 __ 25-34 years
8 __ 35-44 years
9 __ 45 or more years

73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
							3

1	2	3	4	5	6

307-
310. Which of the following grade levels do you teach? (Check as many as apply.)

__ 9th grade
__ 10th grade
__ 11th grade
__ 12th grade

(311-313.)

314. What number of hours per week do you devote to teaching in the school? (Check one.)

1 __ less than 20 hours
2 __ 20 to 25
3 __ 26 to 29
4 __ 30 to 35
5 __ 36 to 39
6 __ 40 to 45
7 __ 46 hours or more

315. What number of hours per week do you devote to other school responsibilities which are required or expected of you as part of your job whether you do the work at school, at home or elsewhere?

1 __ less than 5 hours
2 __ 6 to 9
3 __ 10 to 15
4 __ 16 to 19
5 __ 20 to 25
6 __ 26 hours or more

316. During this school year, do you have a part-time job in addition to your regular teaching job here?

1 __ yes
2 __ no

316a. If yes: What sort of work do you do? (Be specific.)

____

317. How many hours, on the average, do you work each week at your part-time job?

_____ hours

318. How long have you lived in this community? (Check one.)

1 __ less than one year
2 __ 1-2 years
3 __ 3-5 years
4 __ 6-10 years
5 __ more than 10 years

319-
329. Do you belong to any organizations; clubs; lodges; or veterans', sports, or church groups? (Check as many as apply.)

319. __ political clubs (League of Women Voters, Republican or Democratic Clubs)
320. __ fraternal organizations (Elks, etc.)
321. __ veterans' organizations (American Legion, V.F.W., etc.)
322. __ civic or service clubs (Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)
323. __ religious social groups (Knights of Columbus, etc.)
324. __ hobby or sports groups
325. __ youth organizations (YMCA, Scouts, Campfire Girls, etc.)
326. __ N.E.A.
327. __ country club
328. __ American Federation of Teachers
329. __ other (Which? ________________)

330. How do you lean in national politics? (Check one.)

1 __ toward the more liberal Democrats
2 __ toward the more conservative Democrats
3 __ toward the more liberal Republicans
4 __ toward the more conservative Republicans
5 __ toward a third party (Which? ____________________)

331. What is your religous preference? (Check one.)

1 ___ Protestant (What denomination? ______________)
2 ___ Roman Catholic
3 ___ Jewish
4 ___ Other (What? ___________)

332. What is your age? (Check one.)

1 ___ under 21 years
2 ___ 21-25 years
3 ___ 26-30 years
4 ___ 31-35 years
5 ___ 36-40 years
6 ___ 41-45 years
7 ___ 46-55 years
8 ___ 56-65 years
9 ___ 66 or over

333-
334. How much formal education did your parents have? (Check one for father and one for mother.)

Father	Mother	
1 ___	1 ___	some grade school
2 ___	2 ___	finished grade school
3 ___	3 ___	some high school
4 ___	4 ___	finished high school
5 ___	5 ___	some college
6 ___	6 ___	finished college
7 ___	7 ___	M.A., Ph.D., Ed.D. or professional degree

337-
338. What kind of work did your father do? (Be specific.)

____

339. What is your marital status? (Check one.)

1 ___ single, never married
2 ___ married
3 ___ widowed
4 ___ divorced or legally separated

340-
341. If married now, or ever married, what is (was) your spouse's occupation? (Please be specific.)

____

342-
343. Type of employer or firm (NOT THE SPECIFIC NAME, but the general type -- such as "federal government", or "large airplane factory", or "owns small retail grocery store"): ________

____

344. What is your sex?

1 ___ male
2 ___ female

80
4

(335-336.)

In order to test the statistical adequacy of our sample, we need to know the name of each teacher who participates. The questionnaire will not be identified with your name; all responses are completely confidential.

Your name: ______________________________

Your address: ______________________________

As you know, this is a study of the values of the student body of this high school and the various groups within it as they affect a boy's or a girl's path through school and beyond. The categorical questions above provide only a crude way of learning this. We would appreciate any further comments you might have about the school or its students which are relevant to our purpose. You may use the remaining space in the questionnaire, or, if necessary, an added sheet.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION, AND OUR BEST WISHES TO YOU!

OE 6000 (REV. 9-66)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ERIC REPORT RESUME

(TOP)

ERIC ACCESSION NO.

CLEARINGHOUSE ACCESSION NUMBER

RESUME DATE
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TITLE
Adolescents in Two Societies: Peers, School, and Family in the United States and Denmark (Final Report)

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SOURCE CODE

REPORT/SERIES NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

PUB'L. DATE 1 January 1968

CONTRACT/GRANT NUMBER OE-4-10-069

PAGINATION, ETC.
505 pages

RETRIEVAL TERMS

IDENTIFIERS

ABSTRACT Purposes are (1) to examine the relative influence upon adolescents of peers and families, (2) to compare these influences in two societies, the United States and Denmark, and (3) in a partial replication and extension of Coleman's (1961) The Adolescent Society, to describe the internal structure and operation of adolescent subcultures in the United States and Denmark.

Data were collected on all students in 3 American high schools (N = 2327) and 12 Danish secondary schools (N = 1552) using a structured questionnaire. Data also were obtained from 68% of the students' mothers in America and 75% in Denmark.

The adolescent subcultures in both comparative cultures are not separate or isolated subsocieties but rather reflect the orientation of the larger societies surrounding them. Earlier theories propose that adolescents show high concordance with peers and low concordance with parents. Our data, in contrast, suggest that in important areas of behavior and attitude, adolescents display high concordance with both parents and peers, or low concordance with both. Far from developing contra-cultures in opposition to the larger society, adolescent subcultures express and specify that larger society.

In comparing cultures, both adults and adolescents in America are more concerned with winning the regard of others than in Denmark.